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ABSTRACT

This monograph attempts to clarify the relationship between desegregated education and effective education. The first part of the monograph concentrates on desegregation as it has been assumed to, as well as it actually appears to, relate to school academic effectiveness. The second part of the monograph addresses what is known about school academic effectiveness and the structural conditions under which it would appear attainable, whether schools are desegregated or not. The concluding recommendations concern: (1) individualizing instruction in desegregated schools; (2) other less expensive methods for initiating change at schools with many low achieving students; (3) an increased emphasis on teaching basic skills; (4) implementation in desegregated schools of grading practices that minimize the weight given to previous achievement; (5) an emphasis on consistent student grading practices; (6) an emphasis on discipline at both segregated and desegregated schools; (7) individualized approaches to accomodate learning style and linguistic differences; (8) structural changes in both segregated and desegregated secondary schools; (9) revision of inhibiting teacher-contract rules; (10) revised grade-structure arrangements; (11) less emphasis on "gradual" improvement; and (12) the key role of the courts in improving achievement. (RDN)

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# TOWARD EFFECTIVE DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

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## ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

As we approach 1984 and the thirtieth anniversary of the Brown decision, there is an understandable increase in the amount of attention being focused on the real consequences of the prolonged drive for educational equity through school desegregation. Simultaneously there has been, as a consequence of concern regarding declines in national test scores and the perceived need to increase our ability to compete internationally in the emerging computer age, a recent rise in concern regarding school academic effectiveness. In fact, as we hope to illustrate, the two terms have frequently been interchanged although rarely fusioned, leading to some significant confusion about both the requirements of desegregated education and effective education. It is the intent of this monograph to provide some clarity regarding the relationship between these two educational concerns by (a) separating and defining them, (b) indicating under what conditions they may either or both be present or absent, and (c) suggesting issues that must be addressed if either or both are to be attained. Specifically, in the first part of this monograph we will concentrate on the question of desegregation as it has been assumed to, as well as it actually appears to relate to questions of school academic effectiveness. In the second part of this monograph we will address what is known about school academic effectiveness and the structural conditions under which it would appear attainable, whether schools are desegregated or not.

It should be emphasized that while we believe in desegregated acedemically effective schools, the ideal type, we will offer an analysis that suggests that there exists more than one road to take to this end as well as positive steps that may be taken enroute.

In order to accomplish this task we must first, of course, define what we mean by and what we see as the objectives of desegregation and academic effectiveness. Although a more detailed explanation of the terms will be provided later, for now we may loosely define desegregated education as the significant in-school mixing of children, and other school system personnel, of various racial, ethnic and/or social class background. The objective of such mutual exposure, along with appropriate adjustments in the curriculum and organization of the school, might be said to be the development of what Edgar G. Epps (1974) would call "cultural pluralism," or what others may have wishfully deemed a "melting pot." As will be illustrated later, many people e.g., judges, lawyers, and researchers included, further presumed that some increase in educational effectiveness would automatically occur, for "minorities", as a consequence of desegregation. It should be noted that in conventional contemporary use the term "minorities" is most frequently a code word for people of color such as blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians. It is thus put in quotation marks.

The school effectiveness literature, on the other hand, can be said to primarily concern itself with increased academic outcomes and a decrease in the traditional attainment gaps across groups. The important point is that in our opinion, as we will attempt to illustrate, these two events, desegregation and effective education, may or may not occur at the same time. The intent here is to engage in what we consider to be a kind of

intellectual surgery that will allow us to see both of these objectives more clearly, as well as to recognize the pitfalls of failing to be able to distinguish between them as we pursue their concurrent presence.

Desegregation for Effective Education

The 1954 court decision declaring separate but equal schooling inherently unequal marked a significant turning point in public education. It is important to note that the court not only ordered desegregation with all deliberate speed, but also concluded, for the first time, that even if the physical facilities and other tangible factors were equalized in the segregated setting, the segregated minorities would still be deprived of their educational opportunity. Notably, the plaintiffs from Delaware in the Brown case had already been granted relief and ordered admitted to the white schools by the Supreme Court of Delaware on the grounds that the white schools were physically superior. That decision simply indicated that the authorities failed to make the separate systems physically equal, and left unchallenged the theoretical possibility of "separate but equal" facilities. In fact, some school systems rushed to equalize and even duplicate their segregated educational facilities in the hope of forestalling a desegregation order. The important point here is that the 1954 court decision was not based simply on the assumption of the existence of unequal facilities, but rather on the belief that the consequences of segregated education were detrimental, even if the facilities were equal. This alone is what killed the separate but equal doctrine established by Plessy vs. Ferguson in 1896. One might conclude then that academically effective education, not cultural pluralism (which is not even mentioned in the court's opinion) was the objective of the court decision. In writing the court's opinion, Chief Justice Warren referred to the "intangibles" such as the ability to engage in exchanges and exposure,

as well as to the potential psychological danger of transmitting messages of inferiority to the segregated minorities. Subsequent work on desegregation perpetuation, networking, and the advantages of early interracial exposure substantiates the concern of the court with the relationship between desegregation, effective education, and educational attainment. Nevertheless, as we will attempt to show, the tying of desegregation to effective education and segregation to inferior education for "minorities", may have created an unnecessary tolerance of mediocrity in "minority" segregated school systems. In cites like New York and Chicago, for example, in the name of waiting for desegregation serious declines in attainment and excuses for not educating are being accepted. Conversely, prior to the rise of concern with effectiveness and knowledge of how to enhance it, we may have overestimated the degree to which desegregation can be assumed to automatically deliver effective academic education, especially when questions of school organization, curriculum, power, control, and social class characteristics are not addressed. Just as 1954 allowed the court to see the limitations of its decision of 1896, so 1984 may allow us to fine tune our thinking of 1954.

Desegregation for Pluralism

Aside from the underlying and perhaps racist assumption that desegregation would automatically upgrade the quality of the educational experience for "minorities" and hopefully not depreciate the educational experience of the "majority," desegregation is expected to provide multicultural exposure. While the older literature optimistically suggested that such exposure would lead to an American "melting pot", time and experience have indicated that later Southern European immigrants and people of color were no more likely to abandon their cultural baggage than the proponents of the melting pot philosophy. Perhaps that was because these groups sensed as

Epps (1974) indicated, the implicit racism in a melting pot philosophy which assumes Anglo-European culture superior. The thrust of such an educational goal is unidirectional and assumes that if the heathens can be acculturated (civilized) to the Anglo-European way, then all would be well. It is important to note that for such a process to take place the "majority" curriculum had to be taught and, of course, it helped if such children were available to provide role models. Implicitly, if not explicitly, as noted by Epps, the typical school with a melting pot orientation required the "minority" children to regard their own culture as inferior and to abandon it. The degree to which this "civilizing" function had been ingrained among some members of minority groups themselves was expressed in the willingness of Booker T. Washington, as indicated in Up From Slavery (1970, p. 67), to civilize American Indians. Having theoretically experienced the process at Hampton Institute, Washington indicates that he and General Armstrong, his mentor, went our west to bring back one hundred of the most "perfectly ignorant" Indians they could find, so that the black students at Hampton could civilize them similarly. Ultimately, as indicated by Glazer and Moynihan (1983), although the idea of the melting pot is as old as the republic, "the point about the melting pot is that is did not happen" (p.290). As Kopan (1974) suggests, the schools did acculturate and Americanize but not melt.

Desegregation for pluralism, on the other hand, advocates a pluralistic concept of equality and stresses respect for diversity in cultural patterns and learning styles in America. As defined by Epps, "cultural pluralism involves the mutual exchange of cultural content and respect for different views of reality and conceptions of man" (p. 178). It is worth noting that although the courts cannot and will not mandate desegregation for pluralism,

desegregation nevertheless creates circumstances in which questions of pluralism and melting pot philosophy must be addressed. The consequence of failing to take such questions into account will produce a significant liability within the asset of desegregation. As Epps warns, "...if the integrated school does not accept the basic premise of the pluralistic position and provide opportunities for cultural exchange and the development of respect for cultural and racial diversity, the educational benefits may be achieved at considerable psychic cost to individual students" (p. 178).

Effective Education for Academic Achievement

There has, of late, been a renewed outcry regarding the quality of the education American children are experiencing. Just as the technological advances that allowed the Soviet Union to place Sputnik in space in the 1950's produced a great uproar and review of our educational policies, so the emerging computer age and fears of America being left behind have re-emerged in the 1980's. Furthermore, facilitated by slight national declines in standardized achievement test scores, there has been significant increase in debate and research regarding what constitutes an effective education and what practices and structural characteristics are common to effective schools. Just as scholars have begun to systematically study what makes schools work better, aside from questions of desegregation, so commensurately some "minority" educators, tiring of the wait for school desegregation, have begun to ask how the schools in which "minority" and poor youngsters currently exist can be made more academically effective, questions of desegregation aside. The consequence, on both sides then, is a growth in the literature which looks explicitly at the ways schools can be organized to generally raise the standard of performance, on the one hand, and decrease the size of the historically produced performance gaps between groups on the

other hand. More detailed attention will be paid to the promising specifics of recent research findings in this area in the second part of this paper, as found in the works of Michael Cohen, Robert Slavin, Elizabeth Cohen, Willis Hawley, Ronald Edmonds and Stewart Purkey and Marshall Smith, among others. This work is promising on two important points. First, it raises new questions about school and classroom organization and their implications for attainment, and secondly, it suggest that there are possible "universal" strategies that can be applied to <u>any</u> school to elevate the level of attainment whether such schools are desegregated or not. In fact, it is this new literature which most clearly suggests the need to clarify the relatioship between desegregation and effective education. Hawley, (1982) for example, suggests that since homogeneous populations are easier to treat, in some instances "desegregation renders effective education more difficult" (p. 1). It is also worth noting that it was and still is assumed that segregated "majority" schools can deliver an academically effective education, while it has been assumed that segregated "minority" schools cannot. The promise of this new knowledge is in demonstrating that neither premise is necessarily true, and that there exist pragmatic steps that can be taken in <u>any</u> school to increase academic effectiveness even enroute to the ideal goal of academically effective pluralistic education.

<u>Effective Education for Desegregation</u>

The idea that the goal of desegregation might be more easily realized if the schools were made more academically effective and therefore attractive was one of the more romantic notions to emerge in the 1960's. While it is true that specialized schools such as a High School for Music and Art, or a Bronx High School of Science would remain attractive to white students despite a sprinkling of small numbers of blacks who could pass the test and

gain admission, it is unlikely that such schools would remain attractive, or for that matter esteemed, were large numbers of black students to attend. Although attaining academically effective schools remains a worthwhile goal in its own right, the possibility that effectiveness will deliver a population (of whites) to black school districts, for example, is probably unlikely. There have nevertheless been attempts to do just that. At one point in the 1960's for example, there was a plan to make Intermediate School (I.S.) 201 a magnet school. The idea was to put the latest equipment and newest program in this central Harlem school, in the hope that the quality of the school would override its location and that white parents would send their children uptown, across town, and across the Triborough Bridge to the new effective magnet school in Harlem. It did not take the planners long to realize that most white parents, and many middle class black parents, did not care.

In other cities such as Boston for example, there has been limited success with creating magnet type effective schools, so long as they were not located in the "minority" communities. The notion that making an effective school could facilitate desegregation assumes that parents hold attainment preponderant over fears of racial contamination. This notion appears true of "minority" parents who do and have sent their children off to predominately white schools in the hope that they be better taught, but such behavior is questionable of, and probably seems unnecessary to, the majority of "majority" parents.

Fear of racial contamination for example, led some white South Bostonians to open their own schools, just as Lester Maddox closed down his restaurant rather than serve blacks. The important point is that while we hold that the pursuit of academic excellence is a worthwhile goal in its own right, and recognize that no parent with good sense would send their child off to a

school that was known to be academically ineffective, it seems unlikely at this time that making a school effective for purposes of desegregation would work, unless it is very strategically located and the "racial balance" is carefully controlled.

Separating the Objectives: Desegregation and Effective Education

It is hopefully clear to the reader by now that effective education and desegregation are not synonymous and cannot be expected to deliver each other. It should also be clear that we have been very unclear about these two issues and have sometimes acted as if they would automatically deliver each other at least to selected groups under selected conditions. For example, consistent with the import of the 1954 court decision, we have assumed that desegregation would deliver quality education for "minority" youngsters who could then go from their presumed ineffective segregated schools to schools which were presumed to be effective merely because they were no longer segregated. This kind of thinking precludes recognizing, for example, that prior to desegregation there also existed effective segregated all black schools as well as ineffective segregated all white schools. We were furthermore incapable of recognizing that there could exist, heaven forbid, academically ineffective desegregated schools. Hare (1983), for example, indicated that even in public higher education access to predominately white universities and success in them cannot be assumed synonomous for "minorities." It is again worth reemphasizing that we agree wholeheartedly with and support both the drive for desegregation and its promise of pluralism, and the drive for academically effective schools and its promise of attainment. Moreover, we believe in the "intangible" advantages offered all youngsters in a multicultural effective educational setting. We merely suggest that such goals are not now simultaneously accomplishable, unless they are separately understood. Such an

understanding not only provides clarity, but, as hopefully will be made clear in the following model, will sometimes allow necessary optional roads to the type attainment/pluralistic school, as well as awareness of unseen pitfalls along the road.

An Attainment/Pluralism Model

If our argument is correct and the two educational concerns for academic effectiveness and desegregation can be theoretically separated, then the following two by two model offers four possible paired school characteristics for consideration. It is our opinion that prototypes of all four boxes have existed, as we hope to illustrate in the following discussion.

The horizontal "pluralism axis" separates racially and/or ethnically segregated from desegregated schools. The vertical "attainment axis" separates academically effective and ineffective schools.

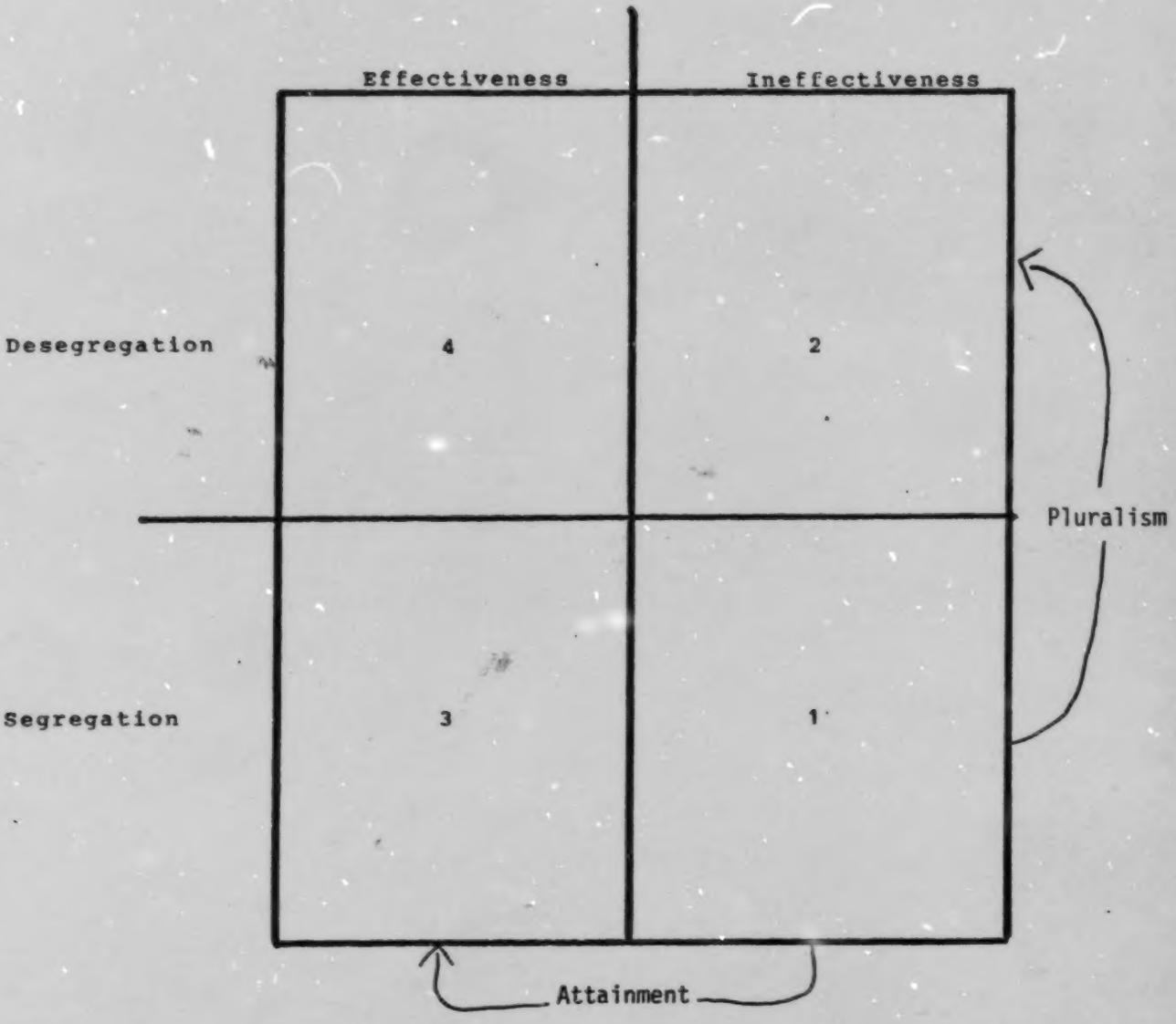
Thus the model offers four potential educational experiences which will be discussed in turn. First, ineffective segregated schools, which we label "lost and alone." Secondly, ineffective desegregated schools, which we call "the blind leading the blind." Thirdly, effective segregated schools, which we label "making academic progress." And lastly, effective desegregated schools which we call "hitting the mark."

Box 1: Lost and Alone: Ineffective Segregated Schools

This is the box no one wants to be in. It is characterized by an absence of academic effectiveness and is simultaneously segregated. It is distasteful to the segregationist who wants to be taught in a "pure" environment and to the integrationist who wants pluralism and effective education. It is probably the box about which the Supreme Court was most concerned when it made its 1954 decision in favor of "minority" youngsters. It is important to note, however, that many "majority" youngsters, especially of lower class

MODEL 1

AN ATTAINMENT/PLURALISM MODEL



and/or rural status also attend schools of this characteristic. The solution to this problem has been much more actively sought for "minority" than "majority" populations, who have somehow frequently been assumed to attend effective schools simply on the basis of the color of the student population. These schools have existed in such places as Boston where black segregated Roxbury and white segregated South Boston both sent less than ten percent of their students on to college, even prior to desegregation. They have existed in the inner cities of America where many eighth grade graduates have had reading scores at the fourth grade or lower. Desegregation plans which have included school improvement components in such places as New Castle, Delaware, San Diego, and Boston have implicitly recognized that these schools exist.

Box 2: The Blind Leading the Blind: Ineffective Desegregated Schools

While we applaud the value of intercultural and interracial exposure, we recognize, as we have continually stressed, that desegregation does not by definition deliver quality education. Box 2 represents the existence of desegregated schools which are educationally ineffective. For example, Judge Garrity's decision to include a "university component" as part of his desegregation plan recognized the potential for newly desegregated Roxbury and South Boston to simply move from box 1 to box 2 together. There also exist many other desegregated lower and lower middle class school districts which, while clearly desegregated, can hardly be argued to be effective. The energing effectiveness literature has begun to awaken scholars to the idea that schools can be desegregated and still fail to be structurally and programmatically organized to deliver effective education. The hope for these schools resides in activating school effectiveness programs. While desegregated mutual underattainment is egalitarian, we

know of no parents, black or white, who would trade in the adequate training of their children for racial proximity. As Derrick Bell (1983) points out, "...black parents have sought not integrated schools but schools in which their children could receive a good education" (p. 574). If forced to choose, then, between ineffective desegregated schools and effective segregated schools, most parents would agree with W.E.B. DuBois' (1935) position that what the children most need is a good education.

Box 3: Making Academic Progress: Effective Segregated Schools

Either by default, inability to obtain desegregation, or by design these schools do exist. It has been assumed, as indicated, that all "majority" schools can be and frequently are effective, although segregated, but that all "minority" schools are ineffective by definition. The drive for desegregation which labelled separate facilities for minorities "inherently unequal" (even if the physical facilities were equal) implicitly led us to assume that effective education for "minorities" was impossible without desegregation. The result of this assumption has, furthermore, been addditional tolerance of academic ineffectiveness in minority and lower class segregated school systems such as New York and Chicago.

Here again, the rise in concern with school effectiveness has begun to deliver hope and a rethinking of this assumption. Works by Levine and Eubanks (1983), Edmonds (1979), and Sizemore, Brossard and Harrigan (1983), among others, have documented the conditions under which even "minority" segregated schools have and can attain academic effectiveness. The point here, of course, is that while effective desegregated schools remain the ideal type, we cannot afford to, and do not have to, wait for desegregation before we demand academic effectiveness in schools servicing "minorities." If we are capable of assuming that "majority" youngsters can be effectively

Moving Around the Model: Promises and Pitfalls Enroute to Box 4

Without going into too much detail, we would like to illustrate some possible problems and pitfalls school systems may encounter in search of effective desegregated education. If one were to start from box 1, ideally one might go directly to box 4, but we believe that, for example, in poorer school districts examples exist of movement from box 1 to box 2 in such cities as Boston, although Judge Garrity hoped that his university component would eventually deliver box 4. Thus many desegregated systems with effectiveness programs can be said to be moving from box 2 to box 4. In most cases such formerly box 1 schools were aiming for box 4 but fell short because insufficient attention was paid to questions of effectiveness since as previously suggested, erroneous assumptions were frequently made about the ability of desegregation to automatically deliver effectiveness. Interestingly, community control and school improvement movements in such cities as New York, San Diego, and Atlanta could be seen as attempts to move from box 1 to box 3 in the absence of faith that box 4 was attainable in the foreseeable future. While many "majority" schools were presumed to move from box 3 to box 4 with desegregation, some argue that many black schools, particularly in the south, where many black teachers and administrators lost their jobs, are thought to have backslid from box 3 to box 2. Finally, one might argue that in transitional communities schools may be found to move from 2 to 3 if the class character of the neighborhood is rising, or from 4 to 3, 2 or 1 under varying circumstances. The assumption that "minorities" could not have effective education without desegregation has allowed many of their schools to slip from 3 to 1.

While this discussion is just suggestive, it is intended to make the reader aware of the academic ineffectiveness pitfalls of boxes 1 and 2 and

taught in a segregated setting, we should assume that "minority" youngsters are capable of the same thing. Given variations in local conditions, it may be necessary to programmatically pass through box 3 from box 1 enroute to box 4. Such understanding of the conditions conducive to effective education, neddless to say, should be applied to improving education generally, even in segregated "majority" schools, since the new literature also suggests that schools can no longer be assumed automatically effective even if they are majority and/or middle class schools.

Box 4: Hitting the Mark: Effective Desegregated Schools

This elusive and yet increasingly present setting is one in which attention to the requirements of desegregation and attainment are found. Such schools are frequently characterized by such practices as heterogensous grouping at both the school and classroom level, equal status conditions, an emphasis on academic effectiveness, and a flattening of the performance differentials. Specific detailed discussion of the practices and structural characteristics of generally effective schools and effective desegregated schools will be presented in the second half of this paper. Suffice it to say that in addition to the avoidance of building or classroom resegregation, such schools make explicit and directed decisions regarding such issues as leadership style, teacher training, discipline, parent involvement, individualized instruction, curriculum development, and are attuned to issues of cultural diversity and learning style differences. This type of school thus provides the kind of educational environment and the kind of desegregrated schooling experience that will produce well prepared children for a pluralistic society. We believe that this remains the ideal type of education for American children and constitutes hitting the mark.

aware of the possible necessity to move through box 3 enroute to box 4 among "minority" and lower class schools which are currently trapped in box 1. Again, it is worth stressing that all strategies should be directed toward the ultimate attainment and maintenance of box 4.

Before closing this section of the monograph, it seems appropriate to at least raise some concerns regarding the limitations of these concepts given the overriding needs of the social system, and the conditions under which effective education and desegregation are being sought. These issues are simply raised and others are invited to treat them in greater detail in other papers.

The Limitations of Desegregation: It's Not the Bus It's Us

As indicated by the works of Diana Pierce (1983) and Gary Orfield (1975, 1978) among others, a significant issue in school desegregation is housing segregation, and a major issue in housing segregation is class segregation. So long as resource allocations for schools are inequitably distributed by class and the courts are not allowed a front door approach to class desegregation through housing desegregation, a significant amount of inequality and segregation in education is inevitable. Pierce (1983), interestingly, posits that while we cannot mandate housing desegregation for school desegregation, school desegregation has potential for decreasing housing segregation.

A final unaddressed issue in this monograph concerns the possible limitations of "effectiveness" given the structural requirement that there be educational winners and losers. Some recent evidence (Hare, 1984) suggests that, attainment potential aside, schools must produce losers who will subsequently accept and occupy their appropriate slots in the lower, less economically rewarding and less prestigious levels of the occupational

structure. It is further argued that normative grouping, routing, and grading practices in the public schools are instrumental in replenishing the ranks, for example, of needed janitors as well as medical doctors. This possibility implies that the concept of "effectiveness", questions of desegregation aside, may entail both the enhancement of some and the limiting of others, particularly given the accepted relationship between educational credentials received and occupation placement in our stratified social system.

Finally, in order to provide substantive philosophical and pragmatic understanding of the issues involved in attempting to maximize the frequency of effective desegregated schools a variety of papers are presented in this monograph. Each paper, in its own way, elaborates on a major issue in need of understanding if the goal is to be accomplished.

The paper by Willis D. Hawley and Susan J. Rosenholtz, "Achieving Quality Integrated Education", addresses issues they believe essential to the attainment of (box 4) quality integrated schools. Recognizing our distinction between issues of effectiveness and desegregation the authors review over 1,000 studies and attempt to identify both the practices which promote positive interracial attitudes and academic achievement within desegregated schools. Information is offered as regards such issues as the role of race relations programs, teacher effectiveness, training, leadership style and organization, parental involvement, heterogeneous grouping practices, etc. They too recognize that merely mixing bodies will not accomplish attainment goals and that high attainment for minorities is possible, albeit less probable, despite segregation. Most importantly, however, they provide a fine analysis of the nuts and bolts issues tht must be addressed if our ideal type (box 4), effective desegregated schools, is to be maximized, and the goals of pluralism and maximized academic attainment are to be realized.

In the next paper, "Effective Schooling for Black Children: Is the Remedy in Brown?", Derrick Bell discusses legal issues relevant for effective desegregated schooling and provides historical background and insight as regards the thinking of the courts, lawyers, and plaintiffs involved in these decisions. In addition to critiquing the "racial-balance" model which he tells us has dominated court thinking, he discusses the "struggle within the struggle" in addressing the historic disagreement within the black community as regards the appropriate mechanism for achieving equal educational opportunity.

The author argues that the courts and lawyers have relied more on advice from social scientists and civil rights organizations than that of parents and educators in constructing their solutions. The consequence, he suggests, has been greater reliance on busing for integration, as favored by the former, than on organizing effective school strategies as favored by the latter, who he argues are less interested in racial proximity than closing achievement gaps. While supporting the ideal goal of effective desegregated schools (box 4), the author posits the need to rethink our strategies and their underlying assumption. He posits the possibility that in the long run, striving to make some all black segregated (box 1) ineffective schools more effective (box 3) enroute to desegregation, may do more for integration than simply busing black children into hostile previously all white schools. While recognizing the value of pluralism, the author reminds us that what black parents most want for their youngsters is a good education and would therefore if forced to choose opt for box 3,effective segregated, over box 2,ineffective desegregated schools.

The paper authored by J. John Harris III and David G. Carter, "Implementing Effective Desegregated Schools," presents a detailed discussion of the

necessary issues they believe must be addressed if the possibilities of effective desegregated (box 4) schools are to be increased. The authors argue that the desegregation process must not be considered complete until a genuine sense of racial harmony and a high level of attainment for all groups are present. Criteria for effective urban schools in particular are offered and curriculum changes proposed. The role of the media, school boards, parents, teachers, community groups, students and city government is discussed as evidenced from the study of school systems in such cities as Houston, Dallas, Dayton, Milwaukee, Nashville and New York City. This paper provides a detailed analysis and an impressively exhaustive list of the areas, issues, ingredients, and players in need of attention if urban systems are ever to smoothly transition to effective desegregated schooling.

In his contribution, "Creating Organizationally Effective Desegregated Schools," George Noblit presents an array of issues he deems essential to address if effective and desegregated (box 4) schools are to be realized. In what might be called "a sociology of education" type organizational analysis he discusses the importance of such concepts as legitimacy and rationality, as well as questions of power and authority in attaining the ideal type school. He stresses the need for collegial setting of goals, experimentation, and tolerance of initial failure as the key to later success and organizational effectiveness.

While also recognizing that the pursuit of academic effectiveness and desegregation may or may not occur simultaneously, he posits that the achievement of both requires such elements as the management of "salient myths" and a "purposive culture." This papter should be of particular interest to those concerned with the organizational analysis of schools and the relationship of organizational issues to the attainment of effective

desegregated schools.

The paper by Thomas P. Carter, "Promising Aspects of Desegregated Schools with Multicultural and Multilingual Student Bodies," addresses cultural pluralism, and investigates the question of language policty and its implications for effectiveness.

In his detailed presentation the author analyzes four typologies for multicultural education: Compensatory Education; Educating the Culturally Different; Education for Cultural Survival; and Bicultural Education. He extensively and convincingly discusses the strengths and weaknesses of each and the implications of each both for cultural and linguistic pluralism, and academic achievement. Consistent with our model he notes which box each approach is most likely to fall in. The author concludes, for example, that compensatory educational approaches are largely symbolic, that education for cultural survival approaches are less likely to achieve pluralistic value goals, and that "effectiveness" is possible in all but the compensatory model.

He concludes that an educationally effective desegregated school is most likely to be one in which pluralism is viewed as the crucial aspect of desegregation and a major contributor to effectiveness. He further stresses the importance of cultural consistency and the positive recognition of a bilingual/bicultural society as a critical part of the school curriculum. The author firmly believes these pluralistic and attainment goals are realizable if the desire is present and the available expertise is exploited.

These additional commissioned papers are intended to provide substantive elaboration on the key academic effectiveness and desegregation issues raised in this lead paper. In our opinion they do provide substantive meat to the bones of our overview of the kinds of concerns that must be addressed if we

are to move toward effective desegregated schools.

We will now move to the second part of this paper, a detailed discussion of the characteristics of both generally effective and ineffective desegregated and segregated schools.

## DESEGREGATION IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH ON EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS

We will begin this section by examining the recent literature on effective schools, particularly that portion which focuses on the achievement of poverty students and on achievement at inner city schools (i.e., schools with a high proportion of poverty students). Our working definition of an effective school is one in which poverty students achieve at a relatively high level compared with patterns of disproportionately low academic achievement historically characteristic of poverty populations. Then we will consider key implications of this emerging body of research in relation to research on effective desegregated schools.

We will not attempt to provide a complete or even comprehensive review of either literature but instead will draw on several such reviews prepared by others. In addition, it is beyond the scope of this paper to provide in-depth analysis of all potentially important topics and questions raised by previous research; therefore, we will concentrate on several that are most central at the current time.

### Effective Schools Research

One of the most useful summaries of the effective schools literature has been prepared by Michael Cohen (1982) in a paper titled "Instructional, Management and Social Conditions in Effective Schools." To provide a "framework for integrating the findings from inquiry bearing on schooling practices" which contribute to student achievement, Cohen organizes his discussion under the headings "effective classroom teaching practices," "school level management and coordination," and "shared values and culture" (pp. 1-2). Throughout his discussion, Cohen gives particular attention to achievement in schools or classes with concentrations of low achieving students. His major conclusions are described below.

1. Effective Classroom Teaching Practices. First, regarding teacher expectations and role definitions, effective teachers have a "high sense of efficacy, a belief that the leader can influence student learning." They structure their classrooms so that they can "meet the needs of low achievers with additional time and attention, without ignoring the needs of other students . . ." (pp. 14-15). Second, effective teachers use effective classroom management strategies, keeping students engaged in academic tasks and minimizing time lost to disruption and interruption. Third, effective teachers use "active, direct instruction" as contrasted with "highly individualized or discovery learning approaches" (p. 15). They thus appear to be "most effective when they provide highly structured learning experiences and continually direct and supervise learning activities . . . providing detailed explanations and instructions, numerous examples . . . and a large number of questions which provide for overt, active practice" (p. 18). Fourth, effective teachers' classrooms are high on academic learning time in which a high proportion of the allocated time is engaged time in which students pay attention and work successfully on academic tasks.

2. School Level Instructional Management and Coordination. First, effective schools are "tightly coupled" in the sense that "school goals, grade level and classroom instructional objectives, instructional content and activities, and measures of pupil performance, all are carefully aligned . . . so that students are exposed to a well ordered and focused curriculum, and . . . the instructional efforts of teachers and other instructional staff are consistent and cumulative" (pp. 23-24).[1] Second, effective schools have principals who set instructional goals and demand high performance of

students and teachers, "develop and articulate a vision of the school and where it is going," have the ability to work with others, manage conflict, and deal with ambiguity, take responsibility for attainment of school goals, buffer classroom teachers from a variety of disruptions, and generally "promote effective teaching by creating the conditions which enable it to occur" (pp. 28-29).

3. Shared Values and Culture. Related to the previous conclusions, effective schools "generate a strong sense of community, with commonly shared goals and high expectations for student and staff performance, and with mechanisms for sustaining common motivation, commitment and identification with school goals on the part of staff and students" (pp. 29-30). In particular, work norms should include sustained interactions and collegial sharing of decisions and activities among teachers, and an emphasis on continuous improvement within the institution. In addition, organizational practices and reward structures should provide for positive interactions and shared norms among students, consistent with the academic goals of the school.

Effective Desegregated Schools

How well do the preceding conclusions compare with research on effective desegregated schools? Before considering this question directly, we will review the latter research as summarized by Willis D. Hawley and his colleagues (Robert L. Crain, Christine H. Rossell, Mark A. Smylie, Ricardo R. Fernandez, Janet W. Schofield, Rachel Tompkins, William T. Trent, and Marilyn S. Zlotnik), reported in a 1983 book titled Strategies for School Desegregation. Material for the book was derived particularly from two large research-synthesis projects: The National Review Panel on School

Desegregation Research, and the Assessment of Current Knowledge about the Effectiveness of School Desegregation Strategies carried out under NIE-R-79-0034. The seventh chapter, on "Changes within Desegregated Schools," particularly attempts to identify a "number of policies, practices, and strategies that foster academic achievement and improve relations among majority and minority students" (p. 97). These strategies, according to the authors, are "based on the recognition that desegregated schools are often more academically and socially heterogeneous than segregated schools," thus making "strategies to reduce rigid tracking and ability grouping essential to effective desegregation" (p. 97). Hawley, et. al. (pp. 98-135), then cite research to support strategies classified under the following headings:

Organizational and Personnel Changes

1. Maintaining Smaller Schools
2. Maintaining Smaller Classrooms
3. Reorganizing Large Schools to Create Smaller, More Supportive Environments
4. Desegregating Faculties and School Staffs
5. Employment of Minority Counselors in Desegregated High Schools
6. Employment of an Instructional-resource Coordinator in Each School

Curricular and Instructional Changes

1. College-Preparation Program in All Secondary Schools
2. Multiethnic Curricula
3. Comprehensive Student Human-Relations Programs
4. Cooperative-Learning Strategies for Heterogeneous Classrooms
5. Peer Tutoring
6. Maximizing Parent Involvement in Education Activities

Grouping, Tracking, and Academic Resegregation

1. Eliminate the Grouping of Students in Separate Classes by Ability in Elementary School
2. Examine Carefully Within-Class Ability Groups that Do Not Change
3. Eliminate Rigid and Inflexible Tracking and Grouping in Secondary Schools
4. Nondiscriminatory Identification and Placement of Students

Student Discipline Techniques and Resegregation

1. Establish Clear and Consistent Expectations for Student Behavior in Each School
2. Analyze Carefully the Reasons for Disproportionate Minority Suspensions
3. Limit the Number of Offenses for Which Suspensions and Expulsions Can Be Used
4. Create Alternative In-School Programs in Lieu of Suspensions

Student Organizations and Extracurricular Activities

1. Desegregated Student Governments
2. Student Human-Relations Committee
3. Integrated Extracurricular Activities (pp. 98-135)

Chapter 8 on "In-Service Training for School Desegregation" discusses staff development strategies for effective desegregated schools. Hawley, et. al., first noted that the problems which "teachers and administrators confront in desegregated settings are usually variations" on those in segregated settings. "At the bottom line, the goals of desegregation-specific and general in-service training are the same--promoting student achievement, improving classroom management and discipline, promoting positive relations among students, and stimulating curricular innovation" (p. 138). Following discussion of the research bearing on in-service training and desegregation, they conclude that the most "useful and successful" programs "appear to be those that educators themselves plan and implement to address specific needs of teachers and administrators in single-school settings and to foster collegiality and schoolwide change. Participant involvement in the development and conduct of training seems to enhance the impact," and training should include "development of practical skills and behavioral responses that may be immediately applied in classrooms and throughout schools" (p. 160).

It is obvious that the two summaries of research respectively dealing with effective schooling in general and effective desegregated schooling are very similar, as would be expected in view of the fact that both cite many of the same authors and research evidence in drawing conclusions.

For example, both research summaries emphasize the importance of clear expectations for students, shared norms among teachers and students, and school-level improvement efforts and staff development. Probably the clearest difference is that the desegregation research adds stress on components such as multiracial staffing which may not be as central in a segregated school. Differences in the two formulations do not mean that their authors actually disagree concerning the desirability of a component stressed in one but not the other. Indeed, other parts of their research reports agree even more than is implied in the summaries given above. But, what, if any, are the contradictions and/or tensions between the two areas of research? In answering this question, we will limit ourselves mostly to school-level and district-level considerations, since the NIE Desegregation Unit hoped to commission later studies and papers concentrating on classroom-level practices and arrangements. However, because many classroom practices both reflect and help generate school and district policies and decisions, occasional consideration will be given to classroom-level issues that have particularly important implications for school and district decision-making. Our discussion will be organized under the headings Heterogeneous/Homogeneous Grouping, Individualization, and Direct Instruction; Characteristics of Effective Inner City Elementary Schools; Learning Time for Basic Skills; Student Grading Practices;
Discipline; Learning Style and Linguistic Differences; Adapting Instruction

to Learning Style and Linguistic Differences; Secondary Schools; Teacher Organizations; Grade Structure; and The Courts and the Change Process.

Heterogeneous/Homogeneous Grouping, Individualization, and Direct Instruction

As mentioned above, research on effective desegregated schools clearly supports the desirability of heterogeneous grouping of students. At the elementary level this means organizing classes heterogeneously at the grade level, and avoiding homogeneous sub-grouping as much as possible in the classroom. At the secondary level, this generalization means avoiding tracking across subject matter (a student is in low achieving classes in all or most subjects), avoiding separation of students into college-prep vs. other types of schools, and avoiding the formation of many classes at many separate achievement levels (e.g., high, medium, low, very low in math achievement). At any level, the goals of desegregation emphasize that low achieving minority students should not be locked into slow-paced, de-motivating learning environments which also restrict interracial contact within the school.

Elizabeth Cohen (1980) has described some of these considerations in a paper on "Design and Redesign of the Desegregated School." After emphasizing her "sense of humility about the complexity of the desegregated situation and the difficulties of producing change," she states that the "goal we want is equal status conditions which will have the effect of reducing stereotypes and teaching heretofore isolated groups in society how to work together. Equally strong is the desire to improve the performance of economically depressed minorities in academic skills" (p.272).

Addressing the question of how to provide equal-status contact within heterogeneous classrooms in which there are significant numbers of both high achieving students (frequently middle-class minority) and low achieving students (frequently working-class minority), Cohen points out that "fundamental shifts in the nature of instruction and the [classroom] social structure" are required (p. 273). Based partly on research she conducted with colleagues at Stanford University, she recommends a "multi-ability classroom" approach, in which "there are many dimensions of intellectual competence," and individualization is practiced by teaching students individually and in small groups temporarily organized to teach specific skills (pp. 273-274). This approach also emphasizes having students work in small, cooperative work groups, which also advances the goal of providing productive equal-status contact.

Cohen recognizes, however, that the multi-ability classroom and other individualized approaches are very difficult to implement effectively. In this regard, she states that the staff of a project attempting to help teachers implement the multi-ability approach observed many teachers who thought they were "carrying out a highly individualized program, but who were actually giving out a variety of paper-and-pencil tasks." She then concludes that

> Individualization . . . is unlikely to be carried out by an isolated teacher. Such systems . . . [require that] teachers work closely with aides, or specialists, or other teachers on teams. Extra technical assistance for teachers, extra staff, and time for meeting implies additional cost as well as the administrative skill of the principal in making sure that the staff is working closely together on instructional problems. (p. 274)

Many other specialists in instruction and in evaluation also have pointed to the high costs in time, money, and human resources required for effective implementation of individualized education. For example, Michael Scriven (1975) has referred to the "stupendous and continuing development costs" (p. 201) of many of the 1970's individualized education systems (e.g., IGE, PLAN). He emphasizes that when put into practice, such systems are more likely to "breakdown" than to be a "breakthrough," because they require "systematically managed" change in many dimensions of school operation. His concluding section then discusses individualization as a "moral imperative" but an "economic impossibility" (p. 208). We will return to this point in our subsequent discussion of approaches to reform and improvement in inner city schools.

As mentioned above, Michael Cohen cited "active, direct instruction"--contrasted with "highly individualized or discovery learning approaches"--as one of the components which research indicates is important in schools with high academic achievement. We think this is an overgeneralization, for reasons which we will discuss shortly, but it is an accurate representation of the results and/or implications of many studies. For example, Eubanks and Levine (1983) recently reported that the RISE project at eighteen inner city elementary schools in Milwaukee brought about an impressive gain in the average level of achievement at these schools. One of the emphases in the RISE project has been direct instruction. Much classroom-level research on the achievement of economically disadvantaged students also supports the value of direct instruction (Rosenshine, 1983).

It should be noted that there is no universally accepted definition of "direct instruction," as is also true for "individualization," "open education," etc. Michael Cohen's definition (see above) provides an excellent

summary of several approaches to direct instruction, but components emphasized in practice probably vary a good deal between school districts, schools, and teachers. The RISE project in Milwaukee has defined "direct instruction" in part as teacher-centered instruction which emphasizes presentation of content, learning practice opportunities, and feedback, and that uses a "structured curriculum" in which "lessons proceed in small steps" and the emphasis is on cognitive development (Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 1982, pp. 16-21; Larkin and Kritek, 1982). However, research on implementation of the RISE project indicates that is is unclear which aspects of direct instruction are most critical in providing effective instruction and how they should be implemented most productively at an inner city school (Zahorik and Kritek, 1983).

One thing that is relatively clear, on the other hand, is that direct instruction can be implemented most easily in a homogeneous classroom setting. Because the emphasis is on teacher presentation and on delivery of instruction in small steps that students can master successfully, direct instruction usually emphasizes instruction to the whole class or to fairly large sub-groups rather than to numerous small groups and individuals, and this in turn generally requires some grouping of students according to their readiness to understand the lesson. This generalization is particularly true for inner city schools where large proportions of students are achieving below grade level. In the latter case, the teacher historically has been faced with an almost insoluble dilemma. The most obvious alternatives for the teacher have been (1) to pace instruction for the whole class and/or for low achieving sub-groups very slowly, making sure that low achievers master each skill necessary to proceed to the next; (2) to proceed

too quickly for many or most students in order to avoid slowing down moderate and high achievers, or (3) to form numerous small groups and try to provide appropriate instruction for each.[2]

Unfortunately, most teachers at inner city schools are not successful when dealing with more than three or four sub-groups in the classroom. To try to do so amounts almost to trying to individualize without having successfully installed a system for individualization (e.g., many appropriate instructional materials, sophisticated diagnostic-prescriptive techniques, teacher aides). Division of the class into many sub-groups can work fairly well when most of the students (whether minority or nonminority) are middle class students with good preparation to work independently, but in the inner city school it typically has meant that most students will work unproductively in their seats while the teacher works with one group at a time. Partly for this reason, many inner city teachers are strong supporters of homogeneous grouping. Despite a great deal of research indicating that homogeneous grouping historically has not helped improve achievement of low achievers (Rosenbaum, 1980), they feel that homogeneous grouping at least makes their job potentially manageable.

Solutions to the dilemma described above must come at the school and district levels if they are to be generally effective. Research supports the conclusion that homogeneous grouping across or within classes need not be detrimental to low achievers if it is implemented in such a way as to overcome slow pacing of instruction, labeling of students as dumb or incapable, and other problems associated with "restrictive" educational environments (Leinhardt and Pallay, 1982; Filby and Garrett, 1982). A recent study of an unusually effective inner city elementary school in

Pittsburgh shows that homogeneous grouping when combined with important components of school effectiveness can result in high academic achievement (Sizemore, et. al., 1983). Most of the classrooms in this school emphasized "structured" learning environments and teacher-centered instruction (i.e., "direct instruction), and school policy stated that teachers could form no more than three reading groups.

Other research also indicates that multi-school projects in which inner city schools use homogeneous grouping at the grade-level can succeed in improving achievement. In this regard, Levine and Stark (1982) found that large achievement gains had been registered at inner city schools in Community District 19 in Brooklyn. Most of the schools in District 19 are large elementary schools in which students are assigned to classes according to previous achievement. Using a mastery-learning approach requiring teacher presentation of structured curriculum materials to fairly large groups of students, District 19 staff were able to substantially improve achievement in reading and math.

It is important to avoid the assumptions or conclusions that direct instruction necessarily ignores needs for individualization, or that individualization necessarily requires a total rejection of direct instruction. Rather, schools which are making gains through a direction instruction approach emphasizing homogeneous grouping and large group instruction are finding ways to provide individualized attention to students' learning problems, and schools making gains through an individualized approach typically provide some group instruction on specific learning skills. Both approaches require sophisticated and continuing attention as well as flexibility in the development and implementation of instructional arrangements

(Purkey and Smith, 1983). Nevertheless, the differences in emphasis are important. An individualized approach, as pointed out above, requires expensive change in instructional and organizational arrangements throughout the school, and, in all but the smallest schools, several years of development. An approach emphasizing homogeneous grouping and/or direct instruction probably can be implemented successfully more quickly across a number of schools because it does not require that schools be re-organized so thoroughly to allow for individualization.

Characteristics of Effective Inner City Elementary Schools

This section will briefly discuss four characteristics of inner city elementary schools in which there is unusually high academic achievement. We believe that all four must be given explicit attention in any school attempting to improve the achievement of working class minority students, whether the school is segregated or desegregated. Stressed in a 1982 study by Levine and Stark of effective inner city elementary schools, these four characteristics are: (1) particularly effective arrangements for low achieving students; (2) emphasis on curriculum alignment; (3) emphasis on higher-order cognitive skills; and (4) minimization of record-keeping.

1. Effective arrangements for low achieving students. Clearly, individualization can be an effective way to improve the academic performance of low achieving students. Much also can be accomplished, however, in a school using homogeneous grouping and direct instruction. In New York, Community District 19, for example, gains were made by placing the lowest achieving students at some grades in smaller classes with specially-trained teachers. More generally, effective inner city schools have improved achievement by reducing or eliminating compensatory education "pullout" arrangements (students are "pulled out" of regular classes for additional services), and/or by providing better

coordination between regular and compensatory instruction.

2. Curriculum alignment. Alignment of curriculum is achieved when instruction focuses on the most important learning objectives for a particular group of students, methods and materials are appropriate for teaching these objectives, and testing is aligned to show whether students mastered the skills taught and to govern subsequent teaching decisions. Curriculum alignment is particularly important for low achieving students because many lack academic skills required to progress at their designated grade level and because their teachers are confronted with so many difficult learning problems. By specifying the most important learning skills and the most useful instructional materials, effective curriculum alignment makes the job of the teacher in an inner city school much more manageable.

Curriculum alignment can be achieved in several ways, which are not mutually exclusive. The Southwest Regional Educational Laboratory, working with the Los Angeles Public Schools, has developed an approach (Niedermeyer and Yelon, 1981) which involves teachers in continuous decision-making, thereby providing for collegial participation in bringing about instructional improvement (see earlier quotes from Michael Cohen). Curriculum alignment also can be brought about partly through appropriate school-level and district-level decisions regarding texts and tests to be used for instruction.

3. Higher-order skills. Emphasis on mastery of higher-order skills such as comprehension in reading and problem-solving in math is important because working class students tend to lack these skills, which become increasingly important as they proceed through school.

But, partly because lower-level skills such as letter and vowel recognition in reading and computation in arithmetic are easier to teach and test, there is a tendency for instruction of low achieving students to ignore the higher-order skills. In addition, students--particularly low achievers--in effect "demand" that their teachers concentrate on lower-order skills (Doyle, 1983; Herndon, 1968). It also appears that direct instruction can reinforce this temptation because it emphasizes instruction in small units and frequently minimizes student exploration of concepts and ideas. Thus, it is not surprising that a review of research by Peterson (1979) found that although direct instruction (defined as "traditional," teacher-centered methods) may be "slightly better, on the average, than an open approach" in terms of students' achievement, an "open approach appears to be better . . . for increasing students' creativity, independence, curiosity, and favorable attitudes toward school and learning" (p. 68). This danger in direct instruction apparently is compounded in low achieving homogeneous groups, perhaps because many teachers in the latter situation function at a slow pace and much time is consumed in correcting students' errors with respect to lower-order skills. Our interpretation of these dangers in using direct instruction with low achieving groups is compatible with the findings of a recent study by Anderson, Mason, and Shirley (1983) which found that students in low ability groups received more instructional time than those in high ability groups when the instructional emphasis was on identifying words, but the former group received less instructional time than the latter when the emphasis was on understanding text.[3]

However, schools emphasizing direct instruction and/or homogeneous grouping need not fall victim to this problem. By emphasizing higher-order cognitive skills in direct instruction, by finding the most judicious mixture between direct instruction and other approaches, by helping teachers learn to use techniques emphasizing higher-order skills, and by formulating constructive testing and student promotions policies emphasizing higher-order skills, schools can ensure that higher-order skills receive priority attention. Examples of such schools can be found in Milwaukee, where the RISE direct instruction approach emphasizes "accelerated pacing" of instruction attained partly through priority selection of higher-order skills, and Community District 19 in Brooklyn, where utilization of the Chicago Mastery Learning Reading program is designed to help develop students' cognitive skills and learning strategies.

It should be noted, however, that the situation is complicated by the likelihood that for various reasons, inner city students do need special help with lower-order skills. Thus some prominent reading researchers have concluded that low achieving students need a good background in phonics through at least the first grade, and then need good instruction that emphasizes language development and comprehension as they proceed through elementary school (Chall, 1983). Unfortunately, teachers in inner city schools frequently place so much stress on correcting deficiencies in phonics and other "molecular" skills that they have little time and few resources for teaching the higher-order skills. Direct instruction for low achieving homogeneous groups seems to fall frequently into this trap unless special school-wide efforts are made to avoid it.

4. Minimization of record-keeping. Teachers trying to help poverty students learn specific skills within an aligned curriculum must keep accurate records concerning students' mastery of objectives, opportunities for practice and reinforcement, and remaining skill deficiencies. Careful record-keeping on students' progress obviously is a critical consideration in an individualized approach, and it requires almost as much attention using a direct instruction approach with homogeneous groups. To make the teachers' job manageable in this regard, schools must find ways to minimize record-keeping chores, or staff will end up spending more time on record-keeping than teaching. The computer clearly has the potential to minimize record-keeping burdens, but it also can unproductively multiply this burden if administrators use it to collect more information than is necessary for effective instruction.

The four characteristics of effective inner city poverty schools enumerated above can all be achieved within schools organized on either a homogeneous or heterogeneous basis. Effective arrangements for low achievers, curriculum alignment, emphasis on higher-order skills, and minimization of record-keeping are attained almost as a matter of course in a school that is effectively individualized with homogeneous grouping eliminated. But, effective individualization requires expensive and difficult change in every aspect of a school's organization and operation.

All four goals also can be attained within a school that emphasizes direct instruction and homogeneous grouping but only if district and school policies are devised to make them attainable. For example, a district or school that eliminates or substantially reduces compensatory education

pullout, that helps teachers who work together at each grade level and across grade levels to align curriculum, and that institutes testing and monitoring procedures which emphasize higher-order skills and minimize record-keeping can overcome the potential disadvantages of direct instruction and homogeneous grouping.

Levine and Eubanks (1983) have examined these differing approaches in several big city school districts, and reached the conclusion that inner city schools can improve academic achievement either through fundamental reform or through incremental reform. By "fundamental reform," they refer to effective arrangements for individualization, continuous progress, small-group mastery learning, or other instructional arrangements that can maximize student achievement. By "incremental reform," they refer to recent efforts to improve achievement at inner city schools through direct instruction and/or improvements in grouping of students (sometimes homogeneous), curriculum alignment, and other measures stressed in effective schools research. Fundamental reform requires very large resources (funds, time, energy) and, probably, specially-selected administrators who can deal successfully with its enormous challenge. Incremental reform, while expensive and far from easy, is not as difficult as fundamental reform, and therefore seems to be a better starting point for multi-school improvement efforts.

In any case, the larger implications of the lengthy preceding discussion are fairly clear. If the desegregated context is one in which many of the minority participants are low-achieving poverty students whereas many of the nonminority participants are high achieving middle-class students, individualized approaches which reject homogeneous grouping are required to achieve the goals of desegregated education. However, in this case the plan for effective

desegregation must take full account of the difficulties involved in developing and implementing individualized approaches. In particular, enormous resources (Scriven would say "stupendous") must be budgeted for this purpose, and planners should be aware that it will take several years to implement successfully.

Learning Time for Basic Skills

In addition to stressing ways to increase academic learning time through improved teaching practices (see Michael Cohen, above), the effective schools research suggests that some successful inner city schools devote disproportionate amounts of time to reading, math, and other basic skills. Levine, Levine, and Eubanks (1984) have found such policies in operation at some unusually effective inner city intermediate schools, and Sizemore, Brossard, and Harrigan (1983) have described them in operation at successful inner city schools in Pittsburgh as follows:

> At Schools A and C teachers often used teacher prep periods and . . . compensatory education time for student tutoring, disciplinary counseling, and remedial instruction to small groups. More often than not, teachers of slower reading groups detained them after school hours to explain homework necessary for reinforcement. This . . . avoids the trend that holds accelerating readers back and keeps them behind schedule. . . . This trend together with the tradition of not sending reading books and workbooks home for homework militate againse keeping students on schedule in the basal reader. . . .
>
> Persistently slow learners require more reinforcement and reteaching; consequently, teachers must steal time from other subjects in order to achieve reading skill mastery. At all three schools, teachers usually stole time from social studies and science to satisfy this need. At Schools A and C teachers used their prep periods to reteach and reinforce. This meant that the students missed their special subjects. . . .
>
> In all three schools, special subjects are considered of secondary importance in the instructional program. This relegates them to an inferior symbolic universe and does irreparable harm to student motivation and teacher inspiration in these areas. Generally, these teachers have accepted their

> plight and agree that the teaching of reading and mathematics is more important. Yet, they know that creativity is central to humanism and the human being must provide for these experiences in his/her life. The kindergarten teachers at School A and School C were most aware of this fact. The School A teacher said that a child needed someplace where he/she could just go and pound some clay on the table once in a while. The School C teacher felt that she had not done her best that year because she had not provided enough creative experiences for her children.
>
> The need for more time for more reinforcement and reteaching forces teachers to use special subject time for this purpose. Unless other options are available to teachers trying to deal with this disadvantage this undesirable practice will continue. (pp. 620-621, 627)

"Stealing" time from social studies, science, art, music, or other subjects is in some respects an undesirable alternative, as stressed by Sizemore and her colleagues, but it presently is practiced at some successful inner city schools in order to achieve the larger goal of basic skills improvement, particularly in reading. Some schools and districts are making a systematic attempt to avoid this pattern, while still improving poverty students' achievement in basic skills. Los Angeles, for example, has titled its curriculum A Balanced Curriculum and has taken related steps to avoid neglect of any subject area. Milwaukee and other school districts are attempting to coordinate instruction between reading and social studies, art, and other subjects, in order to maximize effective instruction throughout the school day.

Nevertheless, maintaining curriculum balance is a real problem at inner city schools striving to improve basic skills achievement. This problem is greatly compounded in desegregated settings which bring together working class minority students and middle class nonminority students, because middle class parents--whatever their racial or ethnic group--tend to be much more insistent on having a broad curriculum available to their children than are

working class parents. It is partly for this reason that working class schools historically have had a strong emphasis on "mechanical" instruction focusing on lower-order skills, while middle class schools often emphasize creative learning of higher-order skills across all subject areas (Anyon, 1980). Thus, middle class clients of desegregated schools likely will resist attempts to concentrate instructional time heavily on basic skills (defined narrowly), or will remove their children from schools which do so, at least in some cases.

One alternative is to individualize instruction in such a way as to ensure that every student has adequate learning opportunities in every subject area. A second is to build satisfactory opportunities for learning both basic skills and other subjects into the structure and schedule of the school. In this regard, Levine and Eubanks (1980) have described desegregated elementary magnet schools, in Kansas City, and St. Paul, which offer "Basic and Applied Learning" segments designed to appeal and be responsive to the needs and desires of both working class and middle class students and parents. A third strategy is to lengthen the school day and/or year, and a fourth is to coordinate homework more effectively with the instructional program. Michael Cohen (1983) advocated both of these latter alternatives in his discussion of policy implications of effective school research. Sizemore, Brossard, and Harrigan (1983) found both of them being utilized at effective inner city elementary schools in Pittsburgh. Levine, Levine, and Eubanks (1984) also found them being used at effective inner city intermediate schools, and Champlin and Mamary (1983) found that improved coordination between homework and regular instruction is a key component in successful school improvement efforts in the Johnson City, New York Public Schools.

However, efforts to improve basic skills achievement through a longer school day or school year should proceed carefully because simply adding time will not itself make much difference. Two decades of experience with compensatory education have shown that merely adding time for additional instruction which is not effective during the regular schedule does not substantially improve the performance of low achievers. The recent recommendation from the National Commission on Excellence in Education regarding a longer day and year can help bring about achievement gains, but only if the additional time is part of a coordinated school improvement plan. This generalization is true both for segregated and desegregated schools.

Student Grading Practices

Grading practices have long been recognized as a critical factor affecting students' motivation to learn. Students who work hard but continually receive low grades are likely to become discouraged and, eventually, withdraw from the learning process. To combat or reverse this tendency, many educators have advocated basing grades at least partly on student effort, reducing the range of grades (e.g., from A, B, C, D, F to Pass-Fail), delivering instruction at a level students are able to master, and other alternatives. Approaches of this kind have built-in dangers, particularly with regard to abolition of requirements and incentives for high performance. They are more likely to be implemented successfully when a school has successfully individualized instruction, but we have seen that individualization is a difficult goal that seldom has been attained in practice.

One of the best statements of the need for grading practices which are motivating rather than demotivating in a desegregated setting has been provided in a recent paper by Mary Haywood Metz (1983). Describing instructional

dynamics in a desegregated magnet school offering individualized education (IGE--"Individually Guided Education"), Metz discusses the "academic reward structure" as follows:

> Adams adopted a report card that emphasized effort rather than accomplishment by replacing the traditional A, B. C, and so forth with two grades for each subject. One indicated the level at which students were working in the subject; the other indicated their degree of effort and progress since the last report. . . .
>
> The honor roll was based on the number of a student's 'I's,' not the level of work at which they were earned. This system was intended to provide rewards to the industrious but less skilled students and hope to their peers and to prod able students tempted to rest on their laurels. While not all teachers could bring themselves to follow the grading system to its logical extremes, the system was official policy.
>
> Thus more indirectly than directly, IGE worked to equalize social prestige among Adams' socially, racially, and academically diverse student body. Those with low skills still had a chance to earn academic legitimacy and even academic honors. And their teachers had a chance to feel that they were making progress and doing legitimate teaching. . . .
>
> Through its curriculum and instruction practices and grading system, Adams protected the pride of students who often find it assaulted elsewhere. Students' pride in academic matters was maintained through arrangements that allowed them to see they were making progress despite a low starting point . . . the arrangements that gave new opportunities, rewards, and privacy to low achievers also tended to equalize the status of children of different races. (pp. 224, 239-240)

Grading practices which minimize hierarchical rating strictly on performance are as valuable and important at a segregated inner city school as at desegregated schools. Traditional practices which demotivate low achievers are as dysfunctional in the former situation as in the latter. However, it should be kept in mind that Adams' grading practices are part of a coordinated system that provides for individualized learning and encourages student participation in learning in a variety of ways. In the absence of a coordinated

and comprehensive system for improvement of instruction, grading changes may have little impact, and often will not be implemented effectively in the first place.

In part, problems in changing grading practices without other improvements arise because there are good reasons for basing grades largely on performance. As noted above, grading based on effort can work against the concept that rewards are based on the quality of performance, a concept that frequently is emphasized at inner city schools attempting to improve the motivation of low achievers. In addition, parents as well as teachers and the larger community may expect and/or demand that grades reflect level of performance rather than effort, and this tendency may be especially strong in working class communities where parents are trying to help their children understand that success in life requires outstanding performance. In addition, grading practices based on performance may be part of the "high expectations" for students which is stressed as a critical factor in research on effective schools.

There are ways out of this dilemma. Guidelines for resolving it should include the following:

1. In desegregated schools with a population very heterogeneous in achievement, individualization should be accompanied by changes in grading and other practices in order to minimize the weight given to initial performance. Effective individualization means that students are assisted in mastering the curriculum; grades can then reflect improvements in the performance of low achievers.

2. In both desegregated and segregated schools, instructional improvements suggested by the effective schools literature must be made so that the

performance of low achievers improves whatever their racial or ethnic group.

3. In both desegregated and segregated schools, promotions standards based on performance can be established so that students do not automatically proceed through the grades simply according to age and effort. Promotions based on performance can be important in convincing parents and teachers that schools have meaningful standards, which in turn can encourage them to accept new grading practices in the classroom. We will return to this topic in the following section on promotions standards.

4. In both desegregated and segregated schools, grading practices should be consistent throughout the school. This generalization is in accordance with research indicating that consistency is an important consideration in improving the achievement of poverty students (Levine, 1968; Venezky and Winfield, 1979). This also means, in turn, that teachers should be involved in determining school-level grading policies, in accordance with research indicating that effective implementation of school-level policies depends on the active participation of teachers (Cohen, 1983).

Discipline

Research on effective schools indicates that strong discipline is a central component in accounting for the success of some outstanding inner city schools. Ronald Edmonds (1982) addressed this component in identifying "an orderly, safe climate conducive to teaching and learning" as one of five characteristics of effective schools. Studies of achievement in big cities also support this conclusion. For example, Zafirau and Fleming (1983) of the Cleveland Public Schools recently completed a study which indicated that secondary schools with improved reading performance had relatively high incidence of suspensions and attendance rates, suggesting that "administrative action" had been taken to "preserve school order."

Many persons who have not actually taught at inner city schools find it difficult to understand just how important strong discipline is and what actions can or must be taken to establish it in practice. We cannot treat this topic fully here but instead will try only to identify several key considerations in implementing an effective discipline policy at the school level.

First, effective discipline cannot be attained in the inner city unless it is consistent throughout the school. We emphasized this point in discussing student grading policies, which in affecting student motivation, also help determine a school's overall climate. The same generalization holds for other aspects of discipline involving student codes of conduct.

Second, because discipline must be consistent in all aspects of the school's operation, all personnel in the school must take active responsibility for helping to carry it out. Edmonds (1982) touched on this point in the following statement:

> We've all seen schools in which some teachers walk through the building or the parking lot ignoring everything they see because they disclaim responsibility for any activity outside their classroom. One of the reasons effective schools are relatively quiet is that all teachers take responsibility for all students, all the time, everywhere in the school. (p.4).

Third, administrative leadership in devising and enforcing strong discipline policies is essential to success in the inner city. This generalization runs through two decades of ethnographic research on inner city schools. One of the first authors to stress this point was Russell C. Doll (1969), whose comparison of successful and unsuccessful inner city schools indicated that:

> Probably the biggest difference between the 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' principals is the matter of backing teachers on discipline problems. This includes such things as suspension and parental complaints. The 'successful' principals were

> not as concerned about being judged as a good principal on the basis of the number of problem reports submitted to the central office or suspensions carried out. Nor were they afraid to risk parental complaints to the district office. In contrast, the 'unsuccessful' principals either had the teachers handle their own problems or they removed the child from the classroom for a short while before returning the problem right back to the teacher. (p. 14)

Recent research by Sizemore, Brossard, and Harrigan (1983) has added considerably to understanding of the reasons why strong discipline is so important at inner city schools. Describing problems in the schools they studied, and analyzing the principal's role in improving instruction through leadership on discipline, the authors report as follows:

> Obviously, classroom management skills are required to conduct what one School C teacher described as her 'three ring circus reading program.' The teacher must conduct one activity while children are executing others. She/he must know how to keep order, answer questions, carry on a lesson, pace and progress all at the same time. Inexperienced teachers are confused often by these many demands on them and their time. Without the assistance of the principal with severe discipline problems, their survival is questionable and learning can not take place. . . .
>
> The majority of the teachers in the study schools felt that they were able to accomplish high achievement in reading and mathematics because their discipline problems were minimal and the principal gave them unlimited support in that area. Without the assumption of this responsibility, these teachers would have displaced high achievement with discipline as a high priority goal. Consequently, instead of directing their energies, talents and skills toward the elevation of achievement they would have worked for an improvement in discipline. . . .
>
> In one school teachers were more occupied with disciplinary problems than instruction. In this school, the teachers tried to work out an alliance with parents to assist them in handling the difficult cases. The chronic behavior problems in this school further depleted the precious time available for instruction and totally consumed opportunities for extending the school day for students who were on a slow learning cycle. The data seem clear on this point. In black poor schools the principal must be aggressive in developing a system for dealing with discipline.
>
> He/she must take responsibility for the management of these problems and create more time for direct instruction.

> Additionally, this action generates loyality among the teachers and a spirit of group solidarity which leads toward consensus around high achievement as a group goal. (pp. 620, 649-650)

We must hasten to add that there are many ways to establish consistent and firm discipline other than simply enforcing severe rules and regulations. As implied by Sizemore, Brossard, and Harrigan, the most important aspect of the administrator's role is to develop a comprehensive system for maintaining discipline. The discipline system should include efforts to help students improve in self-discipline, positive motivation in the classroom and extracurricular activities, and close communication and cooperation with parents and the community.

Nevertheless, research continues to stress the importance of establishing and enforcing rules and regulations which are both firm and fair. For example, this was a major conclusion of several large national studies such as the Safe School Study (National Institute of Education, 1978), and the Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore (1981) analysis of public and private schools included in the High School and Beyond Study. Such studies typically have encountered serious technical problems in data analysis, particularly in addressing questions involving direction of causality (does firm discipline lead to or reflect better student outputs?), interactions with students' social class and family background, and interrelationships between school climate and discipline variables (Gottfredson and Daiger, 1979). However, there is clear uniformity across studies emphasizing the importance of both the firmness and fairness dimensions, however differently these dimensions are defined or labeled by differing researchers. Both dimensions also are stressed in case studies of successful schools, particularly at the high school level, regardless of whether the schools are segregated or desegre-

gated (National Institute of Education, 1978).

Discipline which is both fair and firm may be even more important at desegregated than segregated schools. Because students at a desegregated school may perceive firm discipline as being unfairly directed at their particular racial or ethnic group, strong discipline policies in this context may lead to or contribute to more interracial hostility and disturbance, unless stey are carried out with the utmost wisdom and sophistication. In addition, firm discipline in a desegregated school may result in illegal or unwise disproportionate punishment of working class minority students. But, partly for these same reasons, fair and firm discipline may be even more a prerequisite to effective education in the desegregated school than the segregated minority school, critical as it is in the latter situation. Thus, Hawley (1982) has identified maintenance of discipline as being an important factor in reducing "potential for interracial conflict" and avoiding "system overload" in desegregated schools.

The priority importance of discipline and other school climate considerations also has been underlined recently by Goodlad (1983), who argues that many schools are not likely to improve instructionally unless they first establish an environment conducive to teaching and learning. In making this point, Goodlad (1983) summarizes much contemporary research on successful school improvement processes:

> Let me conclude with a word of caution to those about to embark on a school-wide agenda of instructional improvement. In my judgment, the initiation of such efforts in any of the less satisfying schools in our sample would have resulted in unmitigated disaster. These schools almost uniformly were experiencing severe problems of many kinds: lack of authority or inability to exercise authority on the part of the principal, mutual distrust between principal and teachers, low faculty morale, student misbehavior and academic apathy, poor home-school relations, and more. These conditions are deeply embedded in the daily life of

> unsatisfying schools. They are highly amenable, our data suggest, to collaborative effort by those who share and relate to the school workplace. These school-wide problems must be addressed first if the workplace is to be capable of addressing the less amenable, less obvious, less open subject of pedagogy. (p. 58)

Learning Style and Linguistic Differences

Racial and ethnic differences in learning style and linguistic background are neither well understood nor solidly established by research. In particular, there is uncertainty and confusion regarding the degree to which such differences are associated with social class rather than race or ethnicity, and whether they have clear educational implications.

Regarding possible differences in learning style between black and white students, Boykin (1978) has examined the research on home and school behavioral characteristics of black children and concluded that the "psychological/behavioral verve" which he believes many black youngsters display interacts with the typical classroom environment to produce failure and misbehavior in school. According to this interpretation, many black children show a higher-than-average "chronic activation level . . . through exposure to more constant high and variable stimulation" in homes characterized by "televisions on continuously, stereos constantly blaring, a steady stream of people coming in and out of the home, [and] a greater number of people per living space" (p. 346).

Boykin believes that the increased "behavioral vibrancy" and "psychological affinity for stimulus change" produced in many children in such an environment place them at a disadvantage in classrooms which are "relatively unstimulating, constraining, and monotonous" (p. 346). In support of this conclusion, he cites research which showed a high correlation between school achievement and orderliness of the home among inner city black students, and

research which concluded that low-status black students learned verbal concepts better through an instructional method that utilized movement than through traditional passive learning.

Although Boykin limits his consideration to black students, and refers to "certain cultural and ancestral" factors that may result in high behavioral verve, we believe that this description of their home environment is not accurate for many or most middle class black children but is characteristic of the family setting of many underclass children whatever their racial or ethnic group. For example, descriptions by Oscar Lewis (1966) of the environment of underclass Hispanic children indicate that many probably will encounter classroom problems related to a relatively high activation level.

It should be noted that some researchers believe that "overstimulation" in the home environment frequently interferes directly with learning by making students unusually distractible and inattentive. But whether analysis places emphasis on ways in which high activity level may detract from cognitive learning, or on behavioral problems that many low-status students experience in a traditional classroom, there is little doubt that mismatch between home environment and classroom environment and expectations plays an important part in accounting for the low academic performance of many low-status students.

This mismatch, between school expectations for students who work independently of the teacher in a "docile" manner and hypothesized "distractability" of working class and/or black students, may help account for research findings indicating that inner city studsents learn best in a "structured" environment. Thus Sizemore, Brossard, and Harrigan (1983) reached the "definite" conclusion that "loose structure can not produce high achievement in the poor black school." They also concluded that

school-wide policies thus are needed to establish "a strict discipline program firmly enforced . . . in a considerate manner" (p. 650).

Regarding possible linguistic differences bearing on the success of minority students in the classroom, Collins (1983) recently reviewed research on non-standard dialects as well as other linguistic variations and found that "the available evidence is inconclusive concerning the role of linguistic differences--in particular--dialect difference, as a source of reading problems" (p. 58). He also concluded that attitudes toward language "seem to be more important influences on classroom learning than [language] structural difference per se." In particular, he suggested that "the school's response to cultural differences contributes to the ways in which social inequality is perpetuated in our society" (p. 58). However, other than avoiding stigmatizing or berating students for use of non-standard usage, it is not clear how the schools should respond in terms of selection of teaching methods and instructional materials. Much more research is needed at both the classroom and school levels to determine how the schools should respond to lingusitic differences between minority students and nonminority students.

Another perspective on possible learning style differences which may affect the development and achievement of minority and/or working class students has been provided by Barbara Shade (1982) and others who have been studying cognitive patterns among black children. Shade has reviewed research bearing on the cognitive style of black students and has concluded that part of their achievement deficit involves an "Afro-American cognitive or perceptual style preference" which emphasizes a person rather than an object orientation (p. 236). Such an orientation, which appears to be

relatively common among economically disadvantaged students in general, may in turn create or magnify difficulties experienced by disadvantaged students in elementary and secondary schools:

> For Afro-American learners . . . there appears to be a preference for people-oriented situations and for spontaneous and novel stimuli and situations . . . and a highly affective orientation toward ideas, things, situations, and individuals. . . . which may be associated with a relatively great need for constant encouragement, recognition, warmth, and reassurance in order for them to continue participating in the schooling process. . . . it is postulated that an enhanced ability in social cognition may work to the detriment of individuals within an object-oriented setting such as the school. (p. 237-238)

A somewhat similar hypothesis has been advanced by Manuel Ramirez, III and Alfredo Castañeda (1974) regarding the learning styles of Hispanic children. Ramirez and Castañeda believe that Hispanic children are more "field dependent" or "field sensitive than Anglo children. Field-sensitive students are described as being more influenced by personal relationships and by praise or disapproval from authority figures than are field-independent students. Ramirez and Castañeda also found that Mexican-American children who are field sensitive tended to come from traditional communities in which Spanish was the dominant language and socialization practices emphasized respect for family, religion, and political authority. Based on their own as well as other research, Ramirez and Castañeda argue that instruction for field-sensitive Mexican-American students will be more successful if it is adapted to their cognitive style.

A "bicognitive" approach such as that advocated by Ramirez and Castañeda and other educators is not yet of proven value in working to improve the performance of low-status students of Mexican-American or other background. Little if any research of unquestionable validity has been conducted which

supports the conclusion that adapting instruction for field-sensitive students results in significant academic gains. Some of the instructional components such as emphasis on friendly, understanding teacher behavior have been regarded as important for decades but educators still have trouble translating this admonition into effective teacher behavior.

Other types of race/ethnicity-related learning style variables also may have a major influence on learning in the school and classroom. For example, Havighurst (1971) has reported that American Indian students tend to be more concerned with peer reaction than are Anglo students, to the extent that children may not respond to teachers in order to avoid shaming classmates who could not answer. Kim (1977) has pointed out that Korean children are taught at home not to be "overtly epxressive," and consequently "find it extremely difficult" to express emotions, feelings, and thoughts in U.S. classrooms. Cultural characteristics of these kinds can lead to failure if teachers are not familiar with their origins and implication.

Adapting Instruction to Learning Style and Linguistic Differences

Relatively little is known concerning ways in which schools can adapt instruction to deal effectively with differences in students' learning styles, cultural patterns, and linguistic background. Earlier in this paper we noted that appropriate use of direct instruction appears to be congruent with learning style patterns among low achievers, particularly in the inner city, and that this approach may be easier to implement on a multi-school basis than individualization, which by definition is responsive to learning style differences if a way can be found to implement it successfully. But this generalization does not provide much guidance for planning effective culturally-responsive instruction in desegregated schools, because

a direct instruction approach with some emphasis on homogeneous grouping (as in New York Community District 19) probably would be segregative within many ostensibly desegregated schools. Several recent and emerging "models" which may prove suitable for responding effectively to cultural differences in a desegregated setting are described below.

1. "Multi-ability classroom" approaches as developed by Cohen (1983) and Rosenholtz (1982), which were briefly described earlier in this paper.

2. The Adaptive Learning Environments Model (ALEM) developed at the University of Pittsburgh Learning Research and Development Center, and designed to accommodate individual differences among students without negative effects of labeling or in-class segregation (Wang, 1980; Wang, Grennari, and Waxman, 1983). Developers have been working to refine organizational and management approaches that are feasible for individualized instruction, based on the "contention that, given adequate training and administrative support, the majority of teachers will be able to develop the expertise . . . to effectively provide adaptive instruction in regular classroom settings within a reasonable amount of time" (Wang, Grennari, and Waxman, p. 5). The design is intended to improve both the learning environment and the student's ability to learn successfully.

The ALEM approach can be characterized as a program that combines prescriptive-direct instruction "effective in ensuring mastery of specific academic subject matter . . . and aspects of informal, or open, education that are considered to be conducive to generating attitudes and processes of inquiry, independence, and social cooperation" (Wang, Grennari, and Waxman, 1983, p. 15). The developers have tried to bring about a systematic integration of the following "critical design" and implementation features

for "effective provision of adaptive instruction": Creating and Maintaining Instructional Materials; Record Keeping; Diagnostic Testing; Prescribing; Monitoring and Diagnosing; Interactive Teaching; Instructing; Motivating; Developing Student Responsibility; Arranging Space and Facilities; Establishing and Communicating Rules and Procedures; Managing Aides; Multi-age Grouping; Instructional Teaming; Personal Preparation; and Parent Involvement. Data on implementation of the ALEM approach in Follow Through classes and in projects for mainstreaming special education students have supported the following conclusions:

-- It is possible to establish and maintain high levels of implementation in a variety of school settings.

-- Classroom processes were established that are thought to "facilitate" effective implementation of adaptive instruction.

-- Students gained in achievement and other outcome measures.

-- There need not be major "trade-offs between the teaching of basic skills and the fostering of student growth in independence, self-responsibility, and social competence."

3. Futuristic approaches building particularly on new technologies. A useful example of a future-oriented model of this kind has been provided in a recent book by Bruce Joyce, Richard Hersh, and Michael McKibbin (1983). The authors describe how an eight-person "Direct Instruction Team" might organize educational experiences for a group of students in an elementary school. The Team utilizes instructional support centers which would include the following: Computer Support Center; Self-instruction Center; Inquiry Center; Materials Creation Center; Human Relations Center; and Guidance and Evaluation Center. The authors describe this approach as representing a

"mythical school of the future" that could "reach out to meet the basic needs of our society and its children" (p. 214).

4. The Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP) developed in Hawaii. The KEEP approach, which has had a positive effect on students' achievement, provides daily direct instruction in 15-25 minute sessions for small, homogeneous ability groups (5 or 6 students). Major characteristics of instruction include the following:

-- Multiple student participation structures are employed depending on the objectives taught. For vocabulary and decoding, the pattern may be highly teacher-directed and drill-like, but the most common pattern is informal, with mutual teacher-student participation, co-narration, volunteered speech, instant feedback, and no penalization for "wrong" answers.

-- Instruction in comprehension is stressed, using a repeated "E-T-R" routine in which the "child's experience (E) is followed by text (T) material, followed by establishing relationships (R) between the two."

-- The teacher uses questioning which samples from the various levels of cognitive operations, from recall of specific facts through higher-order inference.

-- The teacher uses "responsive instruction," that is, "maintains her goals for the discussion but often alters or even abandons the 'script' she has anticipated."

-- As each group moves in or out of the direct-instruction area, whole-class rotation occurs and students move to another assigned area which is designed to be "supportive of individualized instruction

objectives by providing for appropriate independent center work.

-- Motivation is maintained by teacher behaviors including positive interpersonal reinforcement, clear and consistent rules, and discussion of students' responsibilities as group members.

-- Continuous monitoring and feedback on student achievement is provided by criteria-referenced tests.

-- Individual diagnosis and prescription is used for the center work, and daily prescriptions are prepared for the small, homogeneous groups (Tharp, 1981, p. 14-17).

Roland Tharp (1981) has analyzed the KEEP approach from the perspective of research on effective teaching, and concluded it generally conforms with practices (such as high time-on-task) widely recommended by other researchers. However, he concludes that KEEP differs from some other approaches which also emphasize direct instruction, in two major respects. First, it combines "direct instruction with a comprehension orientation." The second distinguishing feature is its:

> . . . cultural accommodations. Within many of the listed features . . . cultural considerations guide the precise form the feature takes. For example . . . the KEEP teachers are responsible in a way which the Hawaiian children recognize and respond to. Again, the center system of classroom organization could be managed in many ways; our own is managed so as to capitalize on the teaching-learning interaction characteristic of the Hawaiian sibling-care-taking society. (p. 38)

5. Tutoring and Cooperative Team Learning. As indicated in Herbert Walberg's (1983) review of theories and research on adaptive instruction, both tutoring and student-team cooperative learning approaches can be viewed as instructional innovations which can adapt learning environments to students' learning and behavioral styles. A meta-analysis reported in

1982 by Cohen, Kulik, and Kulik concluded that tutoring frequently has an educationally as well as statistically significant effect on student achievement and attitudes toward subject-matter. Similarly, research conducted largely at Johns Hopkins and Minnesota Universities shows that cooperative team learning has "substantial advantages . . . over competitive and individualistic goal structures. Such cooperative-learning programs appear to harness the social energies of students and channel them into constructuve efforts" (Walberg, 1983). Efforts to reorganize school practices so as to initiate and facilitate tutoring and other cooperative learning approaches can have a positive impact on students' achievement and attitudes.

Cooperative team learning appears prominently in recommendations in both the desegregation literature and effective schools research. Hawley, et. al.(1983), cite five illustrative approaches to cooperative learning (Teams-Games-Tournaments; Student Teams-Achievement Divisions; Jigsaw; Small-group Teaching; and the Multiple-ability Classroom), and conclude that encouraging academic cooperation with "well-tested team techniques" has positive effects on students' achievement as well as their interracial attitudes and ineractions (p. 112). In a book that describes an in-service program for enhancing school learning climate and student achievement based on effective schools research, Brookover (1982) and his colleagues devote an entire chapter to the topic of developing and implementing student team learning approaches.

Robert Slavin (1983) and his colleagues at Johns Hopkins University Center for Social Organization of Schools have been the foremost developers of the Teams-Games-Tournaments and the Student Teams-Achievement Divisions

approaches cited above as cooperative team learning techniques. In recent years the Hopkins group has worked out a modified student teaming approach using programmed materials to advance individualization of instruction. Called Team Assisted Individualization (TAI), this approach is intended to "reap the achievement benefits of providing instruction appropriate to the needs and skills of individual students by reducing the time and management costs of programmed instruction and increasing the amount of direct instruction teachers" can deliver as part of an individualized program (Slavin, 1983). Working in small, heterogeneous teams, students handle the routine management and checking required for individualization, and the teams are rewarded based on the number and accuracy of units completed by all team members. Field experiments using TAI for mathematics instruction have resulted in positive improvements in interracial attitudes and in students' achievement. Slavin also reports that TAI seems to be a feasible approach within existing school settings, and that it can be used over most or all of a school year.

It should be noted that David Johnson, Roger Johnson, and Geoffrey Maruyama (1983) have examined the research on cooperative learning and concluded that cooperation is the key variable in promoting positive interpersonal relationships in desegregated settings. More specifically, their meta-analysis of studies on this topic concludes that "cooperation without interpersonal competition promotes greater interpersonal attraction . . . than do interpersonal competition, individualistic efforts, and cooperation with interpersonal competition" (p. 5). They further conclude that in "many classrooms throughout North America highly individualistic and often subtly competitive learning procedures are being used in desegregated and mainstreamed classrooms. . . . The results of this review" indicate that

cooperative learning procedures should be used in these classrooms"(p. 38).

The preceding sections have summarized some of the research on instructional approaches that appear to be effective in improving students' achievement in accordance with learning style and linguistic differences among students. Supported by research on effective schools and effective instruction in general, these approaches (which are not necessarily mutually exclusive) appear to be particularly suitable either for inner city situations in which many students are culturally different from the "mainstream" population or in desegregated situations with a heterogeneous student population. However, with the possible exceptions of tutoring and team learning as represented by the Hopkins approach or similar well-tested cooperative techniques, the approaches described above place greatest emphasis on individualization of instruction in the classroom. Developers of ALEM and KEEP, along with other educators working with other individualization techniques, are developing ways to make their designs feasible and manageable in typical schools and classrooms, in part by attending to both "direct instruction" and open-type "exploratory-learning" components. These developments appear to be encouraging, but we again must warn potential users that they should be very conscious of the high costs in time, energy, and resources required to implement approaches emphasizing individualization in desegregated classrooms.

Recent developments with respect to ALEM and KEEP particularly can help us remember that "direct instruction" and "homogeneous grouping" are not necessarily synonymous, and that approaches which do not use the terminology "open education" and "inquiry learning" are not necessarily "closed" or "non-inquisitive." Most effective schools, whether segregated or desegregated,

probably will be those which find a way to successfully combine direct, teacher-centered instruction emphasizing both prerequisite and higher-order skills with other modes and emphases focussing on active student participation and inquiry learning, with both types of emphases taking account of the particular learning styles and needs of low achieving students.

Nested within the preceding discussion are several themes that require special attention according to whether a school is segregated or desegregated. First, there is a substantial body of research indicating that working class students are more likely than middle class students to view poor academic performance as stemming from lack of ability rather than lack of effort. (This may be even more true of minority working class than nonminority working class students.) For example, Patricia Broderick and Trevor Sowell (1983) recently reported an experiment dealing with "learned helplessness" among seventh-grade students which indicated that middle class students who fail an academic task "place more blame on the nature of the task and bad luck," thus protecting their self-esteem; working class students, by way of contrast, "seemed to take the position that their expenditures of effort did not matter very much. In fact, effort appeared meaningless in the face of stable factors like lack of ability or difficulty of the task" (p. 5.).

In addition, Harari and Covington (1981) have found that in the lower grades, students believe that teachers reward effort more than anything else, but in the higher grades they tend to believe that expanding effort may lead to failure which will be perceived as a

sign of low ability, and that not trying hard is a good overall strategy for avoiding the conclusion that they are incapable. Studies of these kinds suggest not only that it is important to ensure that students succeed in the classroom, but also that any approach which helps students succeed in segregated, inner city situations may be a useful starting point for improving student motivation and school climate. We have argued for the importance of individualization in heterogeneous desegregated settings, but less ambitious approaches in the inner city may be productive as long as they provide initially for students' success in the classroom.

Second, research indicates that "non-public" evaluation of student performance is an important attribute of effective desegregated schools and classrooms (Mercer, Iadicola and Moore, 1980). In situations which bring together low achieving minority students and high achieving nonminority students, public evaluation obviously has the effect of reinforcing stereotypes among and within each group, and of further contributing to a sense of defeat and powerlessness among low achievers. H. M. Blalock (1983) has summarized this aspect of desegregation as follows:

> In instances where minority children enter school with fewer competitive skills, or with weaker motivations to compete in the learning process, openly displaying students' skills or lack of skills for all to see [e.g. through recitations, posting of grades, spelling bees] tends to place these students at an initial disadvantage which, over time, will not only cumulate, but will also provide tangible criteria, readily available to students, through which racial and ethnic sorting may take place. (p. 160).

However, it may be that problems associated with public evaluation of students can be overcome at inner city schools, whether segregated or desegregated, and that public evaluation can have a positive impact on school climate and achievement in the inner city, provided that it is part of a larger effort to attain these goals. Stated differently, we have seen inner city schools which improved climate and achievement partly through a systematic and comprehensive effort stressing public rewards for positive behavior throughout the school.

For example, at Cleveland Middle School in inner-city Detroit students carry a form on which they receive points for high academic performance, acts of good citizenship, outstanding achievement in any school activity, and other positive behaviors. Cleveland Middle School also emphasizes and provides other rewards for good performance in spelling bees, math contests, poetry and drama contests, and other academic and extra-curricular activities. This approach is very effective - you may have to see it to believe it. It probably works best when rewards are at least partly tied to team or "house" membership, and are available for as wide a variety of activities and contributions as possible (i.e., a "multi-ability" approach). But it should be introduced cautiously and only after much planning and preparation at desegregated schools with a population heterogeneous in achievement and ability.

Secondary Schools

Because secondary schools generally are larger and more complex than elementary schools, much of the effective schools research - which tends to deal mostly with the elementary level - cannot be simply applied at or transferred to secondary schools, whether desegregared or not.

For example, some studies of effective elementary schools stress the principal's active involvement in providing instructional leadership, but what little research is available on secondary schools does not point clearly toward this conclusion. In fact, there is some reason to believe that principals of unusually effective secondary schools do not concentrate very much on instructional leadership but instead have an assistant in this position, whom they strongly support. Evidence for this conclusion has been provided by William Firestone and Robert Herriott (1983), who summarize their conclusions regarding elementary-secondary differences as follows:

> ...[differences in the secondary-school situation] seem to reflect basic aspects of the structure of the secondary school. In effect, a broad range of goals is built into the structure of the secondary school as soon as it has separate units for teaching English, mathematics, social studies, vocational courses, and other topics. Thus, secondary teachers may agree that basic skills instruction is important, but many of them can argue reasonably that 'it's not my job....' Apparently, our ways of thinking about elementary and secondary schools have to be differentiated. It may be more useful to think of the professional staff of an elementary school as approximating a work group and that of a secondary school as members of a complex organization. (p. 52-53).

Firestone and Herriott's (1983) reference to "structural" differences and problems at the secondary level points toward changes that might make secondary schools more instructionally effective, in either a segregated or desegregated setting. This conclusion has been endorsed by state education officials in Colorado as part of a statement which said, "until the high schools are changed organizationally, nothing else is going to happen" (Coro, 1982). More recently, Theodore Sizer (1983), analyzed the problems of U. S. high schools and concluded that "there is no serious way to improve high schools without revamping their structure." Regarding the problem of basic skills instruction for low achieving students, Sizer further pointed out that "students entering high school unable to read, write, and cipher adequately will have to concentrate exclusively on these subjects. These are the foundations of secondary school work, and, until they are mastered, studying much else is wasteful" (p. 682). Regarding goals involving reduction of "segregation and stereotyping by class, race, gender," Sizer again concluded that improvement requires changes in the "structure of schooling" (p. 682).

What structural changes might improve achievement of low achievers in any setting and also contribute to the goals of desegregated education? As mentioned above, Hawley et. al., (1982) stress "reorganizating large schools to create smaller, more supportive environments," reducing tracking and homogeneous grouping, and employment of more instructional coordinators, at both the elementary and secondary levels (p. 100-102, 118). Sizer (1983) believes that changes in scheduling and time allocation, age-grading of students,

and connections with the "world outside of school," as well as changes in governance, curriculum, and certification can lead to improvement (p. 683). Levine et.al., (1984) report that structural changes yielding improved learning opportunities for low achieving students, greater emphasis on teaching higher-order skills, and more adequate arrangements for students' guidance and personal development are characteristic of unusually effective inner city intermediate schools. These latter changes generally are as important in a desegregated as in a segregated school.

Perhaps in part because substantial structural changes are needed in order to improve curriculum and instruction at the secondary level, research on individualization of coursework in secondary schools indicates that this approach seldom has been effective. Thus, a recent meta-analysis of 51 studies dealing with individualized teaching systems in secondary school courses concluded that they had only a small effect on achievement. The authors (Bangert, Kulik, and Kulik, 1983) also concluded that "individualized systems did not contribute significantly to student self-esteem, critical thinking ability, or attitudes toward the subject matter" (p. 143), and that, in contrast to the elementary level, systems emphasizing mastery learning strategies did not have strong effects.

If emphasis on individualization and related reductions in homogeneous grouping are important for achieving the goals of desegregation (see above), but these changes are even more difficult to implement successfully at the secondary than the elementary level,

what can be done to improve achievement and achieve other desegregation goals at secondary schools which bring together low achieving minority students and high achieving nonminority students? What structural changes in secondary schools are most promising in this latter situation? We do not have research evidence that would enable us to give a confident answer, but we can cite several models that appear to hold great promise.

1. John Dewey High School in Brooklyn. Established in 1969, John Dewey High School serves a cross-section of Brooklyn students who attend on a voluntary basis. Dewey appears to have been successful in providing effective educational opportunities for its diverse student body (Levine, 1971). Among the major elements in its overall approach are the following:

-Low achieving students receive special assistance in mastering basic skills, and students demonstrating mastery of basic skills pursue themes such as law, health, and foreign language on which they decide to concentrate their studies.

-Independent study opportunities are available and encouraged. Each department operates an independent learning center at which students can receive credit for mastering material in Dewey Independent Study Kits (DISKS) prepared by the staff.

-Students can spend one day a week learning in the community, drawing upon the city's multitude of learning resources under teacher supervision.

-To make intensive basic skills instruction as well as independent study more feasible, and to allow time for teachers to prepare materials and work more closely with students, the school day was lengthened.

It should be emphasized that components in the Dewey High School approach constitute an interrelated set of arrangements that provide a coherent structure for delivering effective education in a desegregated setting. Specifically, changes in instructional arrangements and staffing patterns have been facilitated as part of a longer school day that allows for concentration on basic skills development as well as independent study and exploration of students' interests.

2. Cleveland Heights High School. A traditionally middle class high school, Cleveland Heights became desegregated as black families moved from Cleveland in the 1970s. By 1980 Cleveland Heights High School had established three "schools within a school" - two for diverse groups of students alienated from the regular curriculum, and one mainly for alienated low achievers. Nevertheless, a self-study indicated that there was substantial internal segregation between and within classes throughout the school. The new program that is now being implemented provides for:

-Reduction in organizing classes by previous achievement level. That is, students no longer are grouped into four or five levels of math, science, etc. according to previous achievement.

-Achievement Centers have been established to make it possible for teachers in major subject areas to handle a greater diversity of students within their classes, and class objectives have been more clearly and specifically established. Thus, a student who does not have skills prerequisite for a particular unit or who needs special assistance in developing his or her full potential will attend the Achievement Center instead of and/or in addition to the regular class. Achievement Center placement is generally about two weeks when it replaces the regular class, and close coordination is maintained between Achievement Center staff and the regular teacher.

-Supervisory arrangements, staff development activities, counseling services, and other aspects of school operation are all carefully organized and implemented in support of the Achievement Center approach.

As in the case of John Dewey, Cleveland Heights High School is attempting to provide effective desegregated education by introducing a coherent set of structural changes for delivering instruction. It also should be noted that the Cleveland Heights approach would benefit greatly from a longer school day - more time would be available for Achievement Center activities and staff development. At a time when educators are considering the recommendation for a longer school day put forward by the National Commission on Excellence in Education, both John Dewey and Cleveland Heights High School illustrate the potentially productive outcomes that might result from such a change.

3. School-Within-a-School for low achievers. One of the most promising structural changes to improve secondary education for low achieving students is to create school-within-a-school (SWAS) arrangements and place a limited number of students with selected teachers who are willing and able to teach basic skills, particularly reading and language arts. In effect, this approach sidesteps the most difficult problem in secondary school reform - that of convincing an entire faculty to depart from traditional subject matter emphasis when it is not appropriate. By placing 90-100 students with four or five teachers (certified to teach English, math, science, and social studies), this approach also reverses dysfunctional historic patterns that place low achieving secondary students in classes of 30-35 which are very difficult to teach effectively.

Creating a SWAS for low achievers is easier to accomplish in a segregated or desegregated inner city high school than in a heterogeneous desegregated school with many low achieving minority students and many high achieving nonminority students. In the latter situation a SWAS obviously can increase internal segregation to a degree that reinforces racial stereotypes and other negative forces within the school. However, even in the latter situation the internal segregation problem sometimes can be overcome by limiting enrollment to students at the 2nd-4th stanine achievement levels, thus enrolling both nonminority and minority students. One of the major obstacles frequently encountered in creating a SWAS for low achievers is that teachers outside the new unit may have larger classes than before (unless additional funds are available for the SWAS).

To make this approach workable, community representatives and teachers from the entire school should be fully informed about its purpose and should understand that it also helps other teachers by reducing the achievement spread in their classes.

One cautionary note: Efforts aimed at school-wide improvement (e.g., John Dewey, Cleveland Heights) at heterogeneous desegregated or inner city schools require at least one full-time-equivalent administrative/support person per 200 or so students (or 8-10 teachers). Staff fitting this description include the principal and assistant principal, program coordinators, instructional support personnel, deans, counselors, etc., depending on their job descriptions and functions. This level of support is required to effectively discharge management responsibilities such as discipline, instructional functions related to staff development, and program functions involving in-school and out-of-school alternative learning opportunities.

Teacher Organizations

Efforts to improve achievement in inner city or desegregated schools on a planned basis are likely to encounter serious obstacles associated with rules and regulations in contracts negotiated with teachers' organizations. For example, Stuart Purkey and Marshall Smith (1983) conclude a section in their review of research on effective schools by recognizing that instructional improvement is likely to require a greater degree of building-principal selection of staff than currently is possible in many contracts. The analysis of effective inner city schools by Sizemore, Brossard, and Harrigan (1983) provides several examples of contractual rules which severely impeded efforts to improve student achievement. First, rules requiring five teacher preparation periods per week restricted

opportunities to teach basic skills effectively; this rule was violated in the more effective schools. Second, dismissal of incompetent teachers was almost impossible given union agreements regarding due process. At the two most successful schools, "the principals persuaded unsatisfactory personnel to transfer to other schools...rather than undergo the long, tortuous red-tape process perscribed by the Board of Education and the Federation of Teachers." More generally, according to the authors, some of the problems at the least successful schools were associated with "negotiation away of principals' prerogatives" (p. 620, 638, 653).

Another example of contractual rules which frequently constitute major impediments to school improvement plans involves the almost exclusive use of seniority in determining staff reductions-in-force. Thus Eubanks and Levine (1982) found that seniority along with teaching certification requirements governed layoff policies in St. Louis and Detroit, resulting in dysfunctional assignment of personnel. In both cities, less senior teachers were being released in favor of more senior persons who had old certificates but no actual experience teaching a particular subject or grade level, even though released personnel had several years of experience, high ratings, and special training in a school improvement project. There are ways to establish better policies based on functional requirements for filling positions according to merit as well as seniority, but doing this is a difficult task which very few school districts have accomplished, in part because of opposition from teacher organizations (Johnson, 1982).

We do not regard the problems teacher organizations pose for effective schooling as being basically different in desegregated compared with segregated schools, but the situation in desegregated schools or districts may be somewhat more difficult in some respects and less difficult in others. On the one hand, desegregation frequently will involve staff desegregation needs and requirements that further complicate contractual difficulties. On the other hand, involvement in desegregation of the courts, federal or state civil rights offices, and other agencies frequently can help resolve or reduce such problems. We will return to this latter possibility in a later section.

Grade Structure

Optimal grade structure may be somewhat different in an inner city setting compared with a heterogeneous desegregated setting. Although this issue apparently has not been examined systematically in research, several studies of inner city schools have indicated that grade structures resulting in minimal departmentalization in the intermediate grades are most conducive to achievement. For example, Doll (1969) studied differing types of K-8 elementary schools in Chicago and found that inner city teachers using a largely self-contained arrangement in grades seven and eight felt they had more personal contact with students, greater knowledge of students' problems and needs, and greater control over instruction than did inner city teachers using the departmental approach at these grades. Similarly, Sizemore, Brossard, and Harrigan (1983) concluded that departmental arrangements damaged academic achievement at one of the

inner city schools in their study, in part because departmentalization limited teachers' control of instructional time and hence their ability to develop their students' basic skills. Slavin and Karweit (1982) analyzed data on fifth, sixth, and seventh graders in four Baltimore schools, and found that students who remained in middle schools had much better attendance than those who attended traditional junior high schools.

Schofield and Sagar (1977) studied a desegregated middle school and found that grade structure was an important variable affecting interracial contacts and attitudes. Schofield and Sagar's study suggests that a middle school arrangement which brings students to a new school in the fifth or sixth grade may be superior to a traditional junior high arrangement (grades 7-9) in encouraging interracial contact.

Middle school arrangements sometimes are associated with earlier departmentalization (defined as subject matter specialization), but this need not be the case if appropriate adjustments are made to avoid undesirable overspecialization. For example, the Bret Harte Preparatory Intermediate School (grades 6-8) in inner city Watts (Los Angeles) is a middle school that minimizes departmentalization by assigning teachers to instruct in either math and science, or language and social studies. Thus it illustrates an approach that combines the advantages of middle school philosophy and significant "self-containment" of classes.

Of course, we already have pointed out that individualized approaches which reduce or eliminate homogeneous grouping are desirable in a desegregated school with a population heterogeneous in previous achievement and ability. Effective individualization presumably could render the issue of grade-structure effects on low achievers largely extraneous and irrelevant.

The Courts and the Change Process

Three decades of research on the change process in education have yielded important knowledge on initiation and implementation of efforts to improve schools. Michael Cohen (1983) has summarized much of this literature in his paper cited earlier, and many outstanding researchers have provided rather complete summaries and analyses of it in books and monographs (Fullan, 1982; Herriott and Gross, 1978; Schmuck, et.al. 1977). We will not try to provide our own summary of this literature, partly because we believe it generally applies with equal validity to all school situations, whether segregated or desegregated and whether city, suburban, or rural. However, we do want to comment on several aspects that have particular relevance for inner city schools and desegregated schools.

First, the change process literature clearly indicates that successful innovation is a continuing process that requires attention to many aspects of the formal and informal organizational subsystems at both the school and district levels. Thus Joyce, Hersh and McKibbin (1983) summarize much of the research on successful innovation as follows:

> The condition that must be created is a homeostasis of change [orig. ital.] , a condition in which organizational stability depends on the continuous process of

> school improvement. Innovations, occasionally large but mainly small and practitioner induced, need to be normalized. To make this happen is no small order and there are no 'five easy steps' to success. What we propose requires hard work, patience, and satisfaction with gradual progress rather than dramatic achievements. (p. 79).

We do not disagree with this statement in general, but we do believe part of the emphasis should be changed when considering either inner city schools or newly desegregated schools. First, we have seen that heterogeneous desegregated schools require effective individualized instruction - a "large" and difficult innovation indeed, though it may be comprised of many small, interrelated innovations. The same point can be made concerning the need for "large" innovations at inner city schools. Though not necessarily as large as individualization, instructional changes in low achieving inner city schools must be sufficiently intensive to change fundamental patterns that now exist, and sufficiently extensive to affect the whole school.

Second, an emphasis on "gradual progress" is not appropriate for inner city schools and desegregated schools. We are not considering here only the moral and educational imperatives to improve the performance of low achieving students in these situations, but also the likelihood that some degree of substantial and relatively quick change is necessary in "difficult" schools if fundamental operating patterns are to be reversed in the future. Inner city schools are located in the relatively "turbulent" environment of big cities (e.g., fiscal crises, teacher strikes, student disorders), and "gradual" innovations introduced in a turbulent environment

will tend to be swept away by the swirling winds of the next crisis. Much the same can be said about many desegregated schools.

Third, the "directive" dimension in bringing about change at inner city schools and many desegregated schools probably is even more important in these educational settings than it is elsewhere. Thus, Thomas Gross (1982) of the New York City Schools has examined seven school-improvement projects in that city and concluded that successful change in big cities requires both "top-down direction and bottom-up participation" [orig. ital]. Recent research is placing increasingly greater emphasis on the utility of strong central mandates for change, provided that implementation recognizes the importance of participation of teachers and others in developing and adapting innovations. Michael Huberman and David Crandall (1982) report that central-office "pressure" on teachers to adopt a new practice may initially reduce commitment to change but eventually increase their technical mastery and hence their commitment when they receive appropriate school-level and classroom-level assistance. Similarly, Linda Meyer (1983) surveyed findings from several sources and concluded that "major studies of school change point to 'Directed Development,' as the change strategy that gets a program in place fastest and most effectively. A rather clean profile of 'expert' help also emerges," portraying a situation in which the "expert" who "makes the implementation work is one who works closely with staff in their classrooms" (Meyer, 1983, p. 32). Attempting to improve achievement at inner city schools and desegregated schools without vigorous, directive leadership at the building level is

like sending out beautiful invitations requesting recipients to "participate" or "get involved" in efforts to save an eroding dam by putting their fingers in its cracks.

All of which brings us to the potential role of the courts in improving schools for low achieving students. Some of the ways in which the courts may prove helpful or even indispensable in supporting substantial improvement efforts have included the following components of big city desegregation plans:

1. Los Angeles increased the length of the school day at segregated inner city schools, while also increasing teacher pay and enlarging curriculum opportunities for students.
2. Los Angeles also eliminated its policy that provided a shorter school day for first and second grade students.
3. Dallas changed from an elementary-junior high pattern to a K-3, 4-6, 7-8 pattern, while also substantially improving instruction and supervision specialized at each level.
4. San Diego and Milwaukee both initiated successful, intensive achievement-improvement plans at inner city schools.
5. In Boston, South Boston High School was placed in receivership; new administrators appointed by Judge Arthur Garrity proceeded to bring about remarkable improvements in curriculum and instruction.

In all the cases enumerated above, there is serious doubt whether local political forces would have allowed for significant change in the absence of court mandates. San Diego's inner city school improvement plan has resulted in substantial achievement gains,

but only after Judge Louis Welch threatened to hold school administrators in contempt of court if major changes in instruction based on effective schools research did not occur. Although no one, to our knowledge, has proved that the strong stands taken by Judge Garrity in Boston and Judge Welch in San Diego were the "cause" of subsequent achievement gains, one is tempted to read causation into this correlation. It seems certain that improvement efforts will not succeed, even with a court mandate, unless they follow guidelines which this paper and many other sources indicate are prerequisite to successful change. On the other hand, strong direction given by a court as well as by court monitoring commissions, federal and state civil rights offices, and other external authorities apparently can help to bring about real improvements in the public schools.

During the past two decades, courts have helped initiate a number of desegregation components including student reassignment, faculty desegregation, magnet schools, equalization of resources, reduced homogeneous grouping, and non-discriminatory testing. During the past decade, particularly since the 1977 Milliken v. Bradley decision (Milliken II), some courts handling cases in large urban school districts have included components dealing specifically with improvement of instruction at minority schools remaining segregated under approved desegregation plans and settlements. (Current legal interpretations seem to say that it is unconstitutional for such districts to operate low achievement minority schools but low achievement nonminority schools are not unconstitutional. If you don't understand this, consult your local school law expert.) Little

. . if any adequate research has been conducted to indicate what courts should do to help achieve the goals of the effective schools movement, as part of a larger plan for attaining effective desegregated education. The following are some of the possibilities:

-Re-examine and modify contractual rules and regulations which most informed observers, with the possible exception of teacher organization officials, believe hamper school improvements efforts.

-Support school improvement components which are impossible to implement given local political forces. Examples here include concentration of sufficient resources to make a difference at a given school, change in grade structure, lengthening of the school day or year combined with fundamental improvement in instruction, and initiation of more adequate administrator evaluation practices.

## SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

The preceding discussion reached the following conclusions and recommendations:

1. In desegregated schools with a wide range of students differing by social class and previous achievement, emphasis should be placed on individualization of instruction. However, it also must be acknowledged that successful individualization requires very large resources and years of planning and implementation.

2. At schools with a large proportion of low achieving students, other less difficult and expensive approaches can be used to initiate change. Such approaches involve an emphasis on direct instruction, specially effective arrangements for low achievers, curriculum alignment, stress on higher-order skills, minimal record-keeping, and, frequently, homogeneous grouping. Arrangements for delivering instruction in accordance with these characteristics must be worked

out on a school-wide basis.

3. Improving the academic performance of low achieving students requires more time and emphasis on teaching basic skills. Other than through effective individualization, time for basic skills can be increased through re-scheduling of the school day and re-organization of classes, a longer day or a longer year, and improved coordination between homework and basic instruction. It should be kept in mind that simply adding time for additional ineffective instruction will not accomplish very much.

4. In heterogeneous, desegregated schools individualization should be accompanied by student grading practices that minimize the weight given to previous achievement. In both segregated and desegregated schools, changes designed to improve student achievement based on the effective schools literature can overcome the deficiencies of traditional grading practices, and promotion standards based on performance should be established, partly in order to facilitate classroom use of changed grading practices.

5. Student grading practices should be consistent throughout the school.

6. Discipline should receive a high priority at both desegregated and segregated schools. Fair and firm discipline

may be even more important in a desegregated school than elsewhere.

7. Learning style and linguistic differences can be addressed through effective individualization approaches (i.e., emphasis on individual and small-group instruction) such as the multi-ability classroom, the Adaptive Learning Environments Model (ALEM), the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP), tutoring, and cooperative team learning. Tutoring and cooperative team learning can be an important part of either an individualized approach at heterogeneous desegregated schools or a direct instruction approach emphasizing large-group instruction and some homogeneous grouping at segregated, inner city schools. However, individualization in the former situation and direct instruction in the latter should not be viewed as totally bi-polar; effective schools whether desegregated or segregated must devise a successful combination of teacher-centered instruction emphasizing prerequisite basic skills, and active student participation emphasizing inquiry learning and higher-order skills.

8. Effective secondary education, whether desegregated or segregated, requires structural changes involving grouping for instruction, scheduling of classes, teachers, and students, and, possibly, the length of the school day.

9. Teacher-contract rules and regulations which impede school improvement efforts, in either desegregated or segregated settings, must be revised.

10. In the absence of effective individualization, grade-structure arrangements should be revised in order to provide

teachers with more personal contact and control in working with low achieving students.

11. School improvement efforts at desegregated as well as segregated inner city schools should place less emphasis on "gradual" improvement and "bottom-up" direction than some parts of the school effectiveness literature suggest are appropriate in other situations.

12. The courts can play a key part in improving achievement at desegregated as well as segregated inner city schools by moving actively to initiate changes supported by research on effective schools for low achieving students.

## Reference Notes

1. It is important to note that Cohen is not using the term "tightly coupled" to mean close bureaucratic control of details through hierarchical directives. Instead, "tight coupling" must be achieved within and, to some degree, across schools in an effective schools project by involving participants in planning and implementation decisions and adapting school improvement approaches to school and classroom settings. Purkey and Smith (1983) have described the latter approach as one in which "overt control" is replaced by "consensus," and latitude in "teaching style and even content taught" is provided so that schools can "be responsive to individual teacher and student needs and dispositions."

2. A study by Grant and Rothenberg (1981) of homogeneous, within-class reading groups found that students in the low achieving groups had fewer opportunities than those in the high achieving groups to learn academic skills, demonstrate personal competence, and engage in "autonomous, self-directed learning."

3. The authors also found that instructional time was positively associated with achievement when instruction stressed word identification but was not associated with achievement when it stressed meaning.

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